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# Current HISTORY



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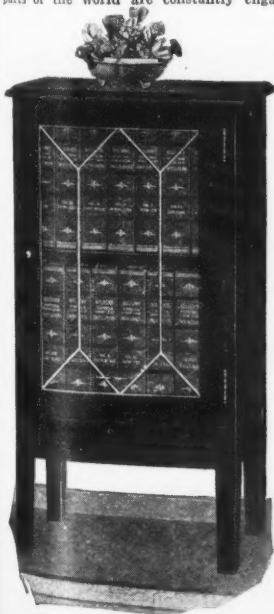
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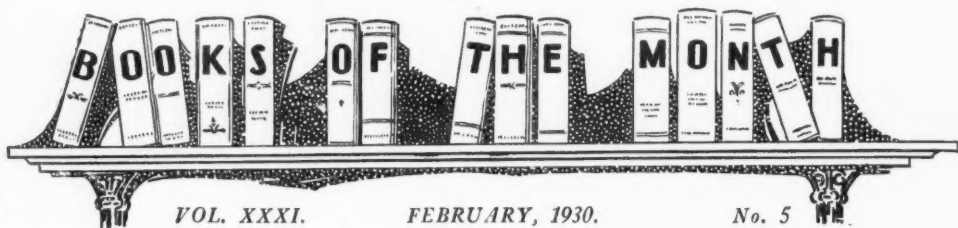
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# CURRENT HISTORY



THE new biographies of noted figures that are constantly being brought out by so many publishing houses, here and abroad are one of the most interesting phenomena of our book-mad times. In such a mass of new biographical material, it is hardly to be wondered at if we find some of it mediocre and even inferior in quality. What is even more surprising is to find so much of it of superior excellence.

One of the best of recent biographies, and perhaps most deserving of favorable comment, is the biography of Benjamin Franklin, by the eminent French critic, Fay (*Franklin: The Apostle of Modern Times*. By Bernard Fay. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.) How a French scholar could penetrate to the very pith and marrow of American Colonial life and American Colonial character as M. Fay has done remains one of the mysteries. It is true that M. Fay has lectured and studied much in the United States. The book from start to finish is nothing less than an achievement. What Fay has done, concretely summarized, is this: he has made Franklin's times rise up before us with a vividness never yet equaled, and he has shown that Franklin himself was the greatest American of his times.



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

In Colonel Mott's biography of our late American War Ambassador to France (*Myron T. Herrick. An Autobiography*. By Colonel T. Bently Mott. The story of a great adventure in American diplomacy. New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co. \$5),

we are confronted by a work of somewhat dubious biographical quality. Colonel Mott had the benefit of being officially

designated by Herrick himself as his biographer, and many of the reminiscences and anecdotes which he introduces were derived from our former Ambassador's own lips. In one respect Colonel Mott is eminently successful, namely, in showing the human and lovable quality of the man. But the work as a whole



MYRON T. HERRICK

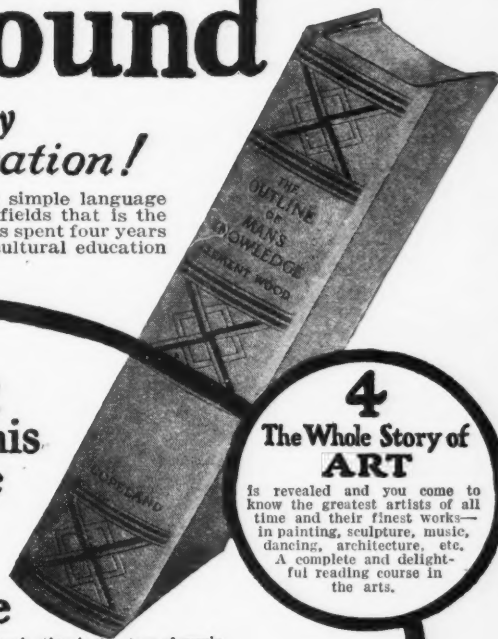
lacks structural perspective, a defect which becomes painfully apparent toward its close, when the biographer chronicles a mass of uneventful and unimportant details concerning Herrick's later life which are certainly unworthy of recording. The best part of the book is undoubtedly that describing Herrick's devoted and most efficient service in France as our Ambassador during the World War.

Mott's study of Herrick is at least a straightforward, understandable and revealing record of a lovable, if not a great American diplomat. But the same cannot be said of Thomas Beer's *Life of Hanna*. (*Hanna*. By Thomas Beer. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.) It is true that Mark Hanna, with all his pulling of political strings and manipulations of "machine" politics, his rough and uncultured personality, the type and symbol of the bloated Tammany "boss," is anything but an inspiring subject for any biography. But even he had his good qualities, as Mr. Beer, who apparently admires him, at times suggests, sound common sense and political sense, ability to judge men and

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character, intolerance of fools. In short, Mark Hanna was human. But what does the reader of Mr. Beer's book, written in a distorted and pseudo-brilliant style, actually learn of Hanna—the real Hanna—in the course of some 325 pages? He closes the book with an exasperated memory of countless depictions of Hanna as a silent, obese, saturnine, red-faced, cigar-smoking political god-in-the-machine; but little else.

\* \* \*

Robert Penn Warren's extraordinary study of John Brown (*John Brown: The Making of a Martyr*. By Robert Penn Warren. New York: Payson & Clark, Ltd. \$5) is one of those products of what may be called the young school of biographical writing, which set out *a priori* to demolish an exalted reputation. When Mr. Warren finishes with John Brown that great and legendary hero of American history, whose "body lies moldering in the grave" but "whose soul goes marching on," might be said to resemble a beautiful statue after it has been shattered to fragments by the iron-studded club of a Vandal or Goth barbarian. Was John Brown nothing but a self-seeking, mean-spirited, thieving, sordid materialist and megalomaniac, whose great deed at Harper's Ferry, which set a nation on fire, was motivated only by the urge of personal ambition?

\* \* \*

Another biography, scholarly, but suffering from lack of imagination, is John Pell's study: *Ethan Allen* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. \$5). Ethan Allen, after all, was an interesting figure of our earlier American history, but one would scarcely realize it from this homespun, purely factual chronicle of his amazing career, traced from its beginning in Allen's turbulent youth as leader of the New Hampshire land grant rebels, called the "Green Mountain Boys," organized against the encroachments of New York, to his brilliant military exploits in the American Revolution. Touches here and there, yes: but all in all, no brooding and genial spirit flutters over the waters of the waste. And this is a pity, for the reasons above stated.

\* \* \*

A most noteworthy American biography, on the other hand, is Marquis James's study of Sam Houston, the picturesque American frontiersman who brought Texas into the Union. (*The Raven*. A Biography of Sam Houston. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. \$5.) This is

no tortured and sterile synthesis, no dry-as-dust chronicle, but a vivid character study of an amazing personality who created an empire which survived the grim tragedy of the Civil War and Houston himself. A work sketched against a wide canvas and palpitating with human interest. Every page of this study is alive; it is one of the most valuable of recent contributions to our national biography.

\* \* \*

After reading *The Generalship of Ulysses S. Grant*, by Colonel G. F. C. Fuller, (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., \$5) we have no hesitation in pronouncing it a brilliant study of Grant's consummately skillful strategy in the Civil War, but suffering somewhat from overemphasis. Is it certain that General Grant was "the greatest strategist of his age of the war, and consequently its greatest General"? Is it true, that compared with him, Lee was "an indifferent General-in-Chief," because Grant understood the meaning of grand strategy and Lee did not? There is here a lack of critical balance at once perceptible, and the Southern worshippers at the altar of Lee would never admit the implications of this comparison. (Captain Liddell Hart's remarkable biography of General Sherman will be reviewed in a subsequent number of this magazine.)

\* \* \*

The new biography of Bierce, by Carey McWilliams (*Ambrose Bierce. A biography*. By Carey McWilliams. New York. Albert and Charles Boni \$3.50) is the fifth important work on this American journalist, who has been likened to Swift and Voltaire as a master of scourging satire and as a devastating, destructive critic of modern civilization. Mr. McWilliams, in a sound and scholarly book, sheds bright light on Bierce's eccentric personality and on his hectic literary career, tracing the record down to Bierce's still unexplained disappearance somewhere in war-torn Mexico. He shows sound critical judgment in depicting Bierce as primarily a super-journalist, not a literary creator in any sense, for Bierce's literary output, considered at its best, is little less than mediocre, despite the frenzied eulogists of the leader of a Bierce cult. In this striking of a sane balance between fact and fiction, the writer gives a brilliant and most praiseworthy example of biography's true function.

\* \* \*

If the most valuable service that can be rendered by a modern biographer is to restore a proper balance to the judgment



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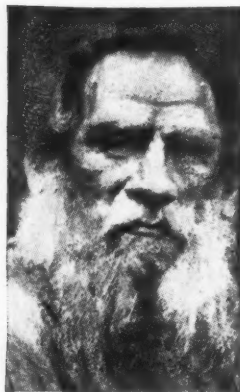
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of a great historical figure who has been grievously misjudged by past generations, then we owe a debt of gratitude to that brilliant English littérateur, D. B. Wyndham Lewis, for his fascinating study of King Louis XI of France (*King Spider. Some Aspects of Louis XI of France*. By D. B. Wyndham Lewis, 501 pp. New York: Coward McCann. Hartford: Edwin V. Mitchell. \$5). Mr. Lewis, noted for his scholarly and spirited translation of the vagabond poet, François Villon, which appeared last year, has steeped himself in the history of Villon's period, and as a result he now gives us an entirely new estimate of a king whose evil reputation has been a by-word since Casimir Delavigne's grossly distorted melodrama, *Louis XI* and Sir Henry Irving's adaptation of it in English. Not the black-robed, stooping, sinister, Satanic figure of an insanely pious and sadistically bloodthirsty paranoiac, followed about wherever he went by Oliver Le Daim and Tristan l'Hermite with his bloody axe, but a great patriotic French king, who gave his life to regenerating and amalgamating his war-ravaged and invaded kingdom, is the new picture painted by Lewis.

\* \* \*

What shall we say of the extraordinary work by the German writer, Paul Wiegler, *Genius in Love and Death*. (New York: Albert and Charles Boni. \$2.50)?



COUNT LYOV TOLSTOY

Standing today as high as Maurois in France and Strachey in England, Wiegler has emerged as the founder of a new art form, what might be called a new *genre* of biographical silhouettes, concentrating on certain crucial episodes of the love-life and death of famous people—Goethe, Tolstoi, Michelangelo, Poe, Oscar Wilde, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Turgeniev, Balzac, Lessing, Lasalle, Paul Verlaine; famous women such as Julie de Lespinasse, Eloise (and, of course, Abelard), and others. It cannot be denied that Wiegler is supremely skillful in some of this silhouette biography, weaker in other cases, such as his studies of Goethe, Tolstoi and Edgar Allan Poe. With psychological insight and poetic fancy he shows the moral anarchy and

weakness of men of genius, their pathetic attempts to capture the elusive bluebird of happiness, their tragic finale in disillusion and despair. The weakness of Wiegler, as of others of this school, is in what may be called his historical falsification by purely imaginative inventions; in many cases he even transcribes the most secret thoughts of the genius whom he describes. This is romantic fiction built around great historical figures, but it is emphatically not true biography nor even history.

\* \* \*

To point a sharp contrast comes one of the essays of the great German writer, Thomas Mann, winner of the 1928 Nobel Prize for literature, in a volume recently translated and published in the United States (*Three Essays*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. \$3). The essay we have in mind is that on *Goethe and Tolstoi*. Here we have real criticism, real interpretation, derived from the application of the most difficult of all critical approaches—comparison. Two geniuses of different nations, two different worlds: Goethe, serene, majestic, aristocratic, Zeuslike in his profound philosophical calm; Tolstoi, half-insane, torn by wild and stormy obsessions, half aristocrat, half barbaric Slav, his feet rooted in peasant soil, a jangling psychological disharmony from youth to death—yet what profound moral, mental and artistic affinities this erudite and penetrating German critic, himself a genius, reveals in the course of his illuminating comparisons.



JOHANN WOLFGANG VON GOETHE

\* \* \*

A special type of autobiography has begun to appear in recent years—what might be called the philosophical will and testament of men eminent in politics, science or letters. Clemenceau's recent work, *In the Twilight of My Thought*, is a case in point for the first classification; the autobiography of Michael Pupin, the great Serbo-American physicist an example of the second. In *Memories of My Life*, by Edward Westermarck, translated from the Swedish (New York: The Macaulay Company. \$5), we have another and striking example of the scientist who

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after a long life filled with high creative activity sits down, in the homely phrase, to take account of stock. Written in a frank and candid style, the book traces Westermarck's intellectual and philosophical development through the proverbial three-score years and ten—a process beginning at Helsingfors University (Westermarck was a Swedish Finn), where he laid the foundation of two of his most famous works: *The Origin and Development of Moral Ideas* and his monumental *History of Marriage*. This is perhaps the most stimulating and valuable kind of autobiography that can be put in the hands of the younger generation.

\* \* \*

Gamaliel Bradford's *Daughters of Eve*, which includes studies of Ninon de Lenclos, Mme. de Maintenon, Mme. Guyon, Mlle. de Lespinasse, Catherine the Great, George Sand and Sarah Bernhardt, has been chosen for the January publication of the Book League of America by Houghton Mifflin. It is an example of the flood of biographical sketches of famous women, famous mainly for their frailty, pandering to a morbid interest in the private life of indiscreet if lovely women, from Helen of Troy down—an obvious appeal to the instinct that has been epigrammatically said to be both below and above the human reason. One cannot but regret the increasing tendency of serious writers to lend themselves to this kind of thing.

\* \* \*

Mariejol's *Life of Margaret de Valois (A Daughter of the Medicis. The Romantic Story of Margaret de Valois)*. By Jean H. Mariejol. New York: Harper & Brothers. \$4) might be cited as another case in point, were it not for the valuable historical light it throws on what was one of the most brilliant periods of French civilization.

This scholarly French historian has already published two other works on the great figures of the French Renaissance, the first on Henri IV and Louis XIII, the second on Catherine de Medicis. From certain viewpoints Margaret of Valois, wife of that rough-and-ready soldier, Henri de Navarre, famous for his *mot*—"Paris vaut bien une messe," on the occasion of changing his religion, exiled for nineteen bitter years in Auvergne and forced by Henri to consent to the annulment of her marriage, this beautiful woman, born on her father's side a Valois, on her mother's a Medici, and hence of the highest princely birth, "this strange paradox of sensuality and piety," whose pro-

cessional love affairs with the great figures of her time made her notorious, might almost be said to be a romantic character. The book, for all its subject, is a scholarly chronicle, a monument of the most careful research into the fascinating period known as the French Renaissance.

FRANCIS SNOW.

## America and England

By P. W. WILSON

FORMER MEMBER OF THE BRITISH HOUSE OF COMMONS

SHORT, SIMPLE, yet solid, here is an essay on Anglo-American relations\* that, obviously, deserves a careful study on both sides of the sea. There are amateurs who write on international affairs; there are professors to

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\**America and England*. By Nicholas Roosevelt. 250 pages with maps. New York: Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith, 1929. \$2.50.



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is "ignorance, sentimentality or prejudice." He holds that "effective idealism is rooted in realism," and he demands "direct thinking along factual lines." In the United States, idealists are merely "impractical." For instance, as friends of Central America, they "have delighted in painting the United States as a nation of bloodthirsty materialists, blind to the splendid picturesqueness of Spanish-Indian squalor, and unappreciative of the nobility of character of bandit Generals whose dusky skins belie their boasts of Castilian origin, and whose 'superior' civilization, dedicated to the goddess of liberty, is characterized by murder-at-will, peonage and tyranny." The British idealist, on the other hand, is less impractical than perfidious. We read:

"Thanks to the cloak of unselfishness in which England's self-interest is so often clothed, the churches, the Liberals, the internationalists in America have been effectively, even if unconsciously, drafted in support of English policies. No nation so skillfully uses internationalism to further national interests. No people are as successful in capitalizing altruism for ulterior purposes."

Mr. Roosevelt thus assumes that nations, his own included, are and ought to be moved by self-interest; it is on this assumption that he argues the far-reaching issues on which depend, in large measure, the peace of the world; and it is the candor of an assumption which yields nothing to mere pacifism, that emphasizes the significance of the final verdict, embodied in this volume.

He begins with a corollary. It is that the "Pax-Anglo-American," as he calls it, depends not on "warriors or statesmen, but rather scientists, engineers, captains of industry." Every page of this book, as we read it, is proof that the new world, at any rate, of which Mr. Roosevelt is a characteristic spokesman, has passed beyond the era of militarism into the era of commerce. Ideals may be an insult to the intelligence. But at least it may be said of the new materialism—oil, steel, coal, rubber and the rest—that it is constructive and not organized for destruction.

Much of this book is devoted, therefore, to an admirable outline of the issues involved in the rise of the United States to industrial predominance. Assets and liabilities are assembled and sometimes tabulated in an inventory, at once clear, concise and impartial. For instance, on mass production of goods, Americans beat the British. But in banking and shipping, the British, with their long traditions, hold

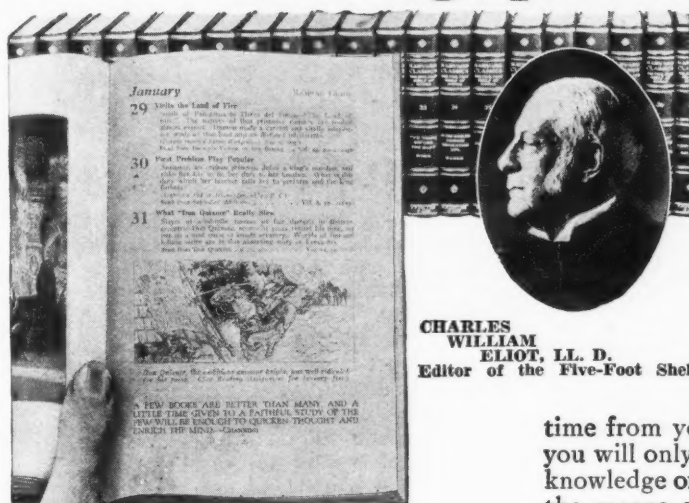
their own. Also, on both sides, there is change. Americans are becoming less "sophisticated," and the British—are they or are they not played out? On the one hand, Mr. Roosevelt detects "a mortal disease of the soul, which, if sufficiently far advanced, may at last corrode the character—a combination of sloth, resistance to change, blindness, defeatism and excessive temporizing which suggests a sick or an exhausted civilization." On the other hand, he reminds us "that for at least 300 years critics have periodically announced the imminent demise of Britain without their vision being fulfilled." As Mark Twain would say, we have to decide, then, whether the death of John Bull has or has not been exaggerated.

Out of all this varied and vivacious analysis, there emerges, then, a momentous question. Is there or is there not room on the same planet for the United States and the British Empire, or must one of them destroy the other? The facts, set out by Mr. Roosevelt, indicate a commercial rivalry, but they also suggest that the rivalry is more apparent than real. A glance at the maps that accompany this volume is enough to reveal what, despite Mr. Roosevelt, we shall call the internationalism of commerce and credit. Whether it be investment, the distribution of raw materials or the allocation of manufactured commodities, the world is today rapidly becoming one market for production and consumption, and no nation can attack another nation without destroying its own property. Not the least piquant of Mr. Roosevelt's many challenging prophecies is his forecast that, in due course, the United States will follow Great Britain along the path of free trade.

The title of this book is *America and England*, and as a preacher of the factual, Mr. Roosevelt sticks to his text. It is, then, only as a hinterland to the English-speaking sovereignties that we are conscious of mankind as a whole. Allusions to the League of Nations are no more than incidental; apparently the Pact of Peace is not held to be pertinent; and the visit of Mr. MacDonald is dismissed in a sentence. All the more striking is Mr. Roosevelt's view of the Anglo-American future. He writes:

"Even though an Anglo-American alliance is impractical, there is no reason why there cannot be an effective working agreement between the English-speaking nations. They have much the same objectives. As great trading nations, both are vitally concerned to see peace maintained so that prosperity may flourish. In

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matters political, they have the opportunity of cooperating in the interest of actual world disarmament by joining forces in bringing pressure to bear against any nation which attempts to embark on a dangerous naval or military program. It stands to reason that once parity on a reduced basis between the British and the American Navies is an accomplished fact, it will be to the interests of both nations to see that no other power builds a fleet to threaten either."

With a naval conference meeting in London and the attitude of the European Powers, other than Great Britain, still indeterminate, those are words which express what may prove to be the determining factor at a moment when disarmament is on the anvil. Idealists, flustered by Mr. Roosevelt's sarcastic flatteries, may discover to their surprise that he is, after all, their Daniel come to judgment.

## *The Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy*

By JONATHAN F. SCOTT

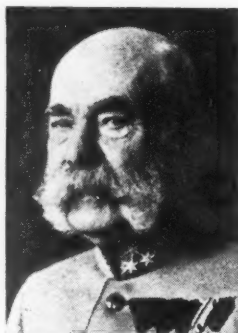
ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

A LEGEND has grown up in certain parts of the world that Austria-Hungary was the victim of German and British imperialism which, having brought on the World War, "buried under its ruins the free and happy Danubian League of Nations." Professor Jászi, however, in a penetrating analysis of the dissolution of the Dual Monarchy,\* shows clearly that the fundamental causes of this catastrophe were not external but internal. Without the World War, it is true, the monarchy might have dragged on indefinitely, since internal revolution could never have succeeded so long as the government could rely on a great standing army. But by 1914 failure to solve the internal problems of the

Habsburg realm had made war inevitable either then or later.

Professor Jászi, however, does not accept the theory that because of her many nationalities Austria-Hungary was from the first doomed to destruction. England and France, he says, each had in medieval times many different racial elements and each succeeded in assimilating nearly all of them. In the Habsburg realm eight forces were used in the attempt to weld the country together—the Habsburg dynasty itself, the army, the aristocracy, the Roman Catholic Church, the bureaucracy, capitalism, socialism and the theory of free trade. All proved ineffective. The Habsburg dynasty pursued through centuries a short-sighted policy of self-glorification and territorial aggrandizement with little consideration for the needs of classes and nationalities. The carefully colored loyalty to the rulers which the dynasty tried to build up became highly tintured with opportunism and hypocrisy. Hostility developed against the haughty aristocracy, against the obstructive bureaucracy and against capitalism because of its Jewish and German-Viennese origins and its exploiting tendencies. The moral influence of the Catholic Church was weak; it encountered indifference or antagonism in the social-democratic working-classes and in certain regions it met Protestant or Greek Orthodox opposition. Its solidarity was weakened by nationalistic prejudices as was the solidarity of socialism. Even the free trade idea, resting on the Customs Union of 1850 between Austria and Hungary, was weakened by an agrarian tariff policy, bad transportation conditions and other influences.

If the centripetal forces were all too weak the two great centrifugal forces were all too strong. The first of these was the *morbus latifundii*, the ruthless exploitation of the peasantry by the aristocracy. In 1913 over 54 per cent of the total area of Hungary, exclusive of Croatia, consisted of large estates, while four-fifths of the agricultural population had less than twenty acres per family. In Austria conditions were a little better; in Bosnia-Herzegovina much worse. Outside Austria proper illiteracy percentages were alarmingly high, running from 31.3 per cent in Hungary to 82.9 per cent in Bosnia-Herzegovina. "In no State of Europe (with the possible exception of Russia)," says Jászi, "did the antithesis become so acute between the unheard of luxury of a small group and the boundless misery and igno-



EMPEROR FRANZ JOSEF

\**The Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy*. By Oscar Jászi. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1929. \$3.



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rance of the masses." Naturally there often developed between peasant and aristocrat the bitterest antagonism.

The second centrifugal force was the development of disintegrating national aspirations and antagonisms. Against the dualistic system, established in 1867, both Germans and Magyars became more and more resentful while the subordinate nationalities grew more and more hostile to German-Magyar predominance. The Austrian Germans, it is true, were more liberal in their attitude toward the lesser nationalities than is sometimes supposed. There was almost no Germanization in Austria. On the contrary the Germans made tremendous efforts to satisfy the other nationalities. But the more there was done to appease their demands the more these nationalities felt themselves oppressed. Moreover, the German attitude of cultural predominance was excessively irritating to them. In Hungary a blind policy of forceful Magyarization merely succeeded in strengthening the national aspirations of the non-Magyar peoples. The more opposition was driven underground the more bitter it became.

In these circumstances the tendency of the subordinate peoples was to look to their co-nationals beyond the border for a solution of their troubles. But of the irredentist problems Professor Jászi holds that but one, the Italian, was basically insoluble. The German, Czech, Polish and Ruthenian separatist movements, he maintains, were not true irredentist problems but national aspirations which could have been satisfied within the boundaries of the realm. The Rumanian movement was a true irredentist problem but it, too, if it had been taken in time, could have been solved by a proper recognition of the desire for autonomy. Even the dangerous Yugoslav irredentist movement could have been handled in such a way, according to Professor Jászi, as to lead the Yugoslavs to gravitate toward Zagreb or Sarajevo rather than toward Belgrade, to find the satisfaction of their national aspirations within the monarchy rather than outside its boundaries. But the incredibly stupid, oppressive policy of the government toward the Southern Slavs within and without the monarchy led straight to the World War and dissolution.

Only through thoroughgoing reform within, Professor Jászi holds, could Austria-Hungary have been saved. It should have adopted before it was too late a broadminded policy of federalism. It should have "assumed the rôle of an Eastern

Switzerland." Furthermore, he believes that unless the new succession States adopt a just and considerate policy of decentralization in relation to the racial minorities now incorporated within their borders these States, in their turn, will meet the fate of Austria-Hungary.

Professor Jászi has painted a dark picture of pre-war conditions in the monarchy, perhaps just a shade too dark in places. Possibly a larger proportion of the old aristocracy was actuated by a sense of responsibility for the welfare of the peasantry than he seems to think, though these aristocrats were certainly far from effecting a real cure for agricultural evils. It would be difficult, however, to find any one better fitted to analyze the causes of the monarchy's dissolution than this Hungarian Liberal who studied the problem of Austria-Hungary's sickness for long years before the war and finally became Minister of Racial Minorities in the Cabinet of Count Karolyi.

## *The New German Republic*

By SIDNEY B. FAY

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

ON Aug. 11, 1929, thousands of delegates from all Germany, with banners flying and bands playing, paraded the streets of Berlin in celebration of the ten years of Republican Germany under the Weimar Constitution. It



Times Wide World  
CHANCELLOR MUELLER

is the history of these ten years which Mr. Luehr has recounted in one of the most effective books\* which has been written on the subject. By way of introduction he gives a dramatic description of the signing of the armistice, the abdication of the Kaiser and the sudden flaming up of Socialist and Communist revolution, which was gotten in hand by the moderate trade-union elements and resulted in the Weimar Constitutional Assembly. By way of conclusion he summarizes the Young plan which it is to be

\**The New German Republic: The Reich in Transition*. By Elmer Luehr. New York: Minton, Balch & Co. 1929. \$5.

# Current History

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hoped is soon to replace the Dawes plan as a further amelioration of the reparations question.

Mr. Luehr's volume is generally excellent. It is clear, very readable and well packed with information and has a sufficient number of exact dates of important events and laws. He has a happy gift for effective metaphor, but occasionally his zeal and sympathy for Germany betray him into animadversions against the French in general and M. Poincaré in particular, which will offend some readers and might better have been omitted. His volume is especially opportune, because many post-war accounts of Germany have dealt so exclusively with reparations and Germany's economic recovery and have given so little attention to the parallel constitutional and social conflicts and development. It has a broader sweep, for instance, than such books, admirable in their chosen field, as J. W. Angell's *Recovery of Germany* or Quigley and Clark's *Republican Germany*.

One of the most interesting German politico-economic experiments which arose from the social and political revolution following the World War was the creation of a National Economic Council. [See article by E. Pendleton Herring on pages 947-952 of this magazine]. This was a sop to labor sentiment wrung from the capitalists in a moment of revolution. It was intended to be a sort of economic legislature, in which labor should have equal voice with capital in economic legislation. It was to sit by the side of the regular political legislature. Its fate has been followed with interest by students of political science and by others who are disappointed in the functioning of modern democratic parliaments. But as Mr. Luehr clearly shows, it has never fulfilled the hopes expected of it. From the outset it was really merely a gesture on the part of the propertied classes to rid the country of the danger of class dictatorship by soviets or councils. From its inception the political parliament was zealous in preventing the new economic parliament from becoming a serious rival.

As time has rolled on the National Economic Council has become more and more impotent and neglected. Its composition partly doomed it to failure. It was originally intended to have about a hundred members, but the demands of the various economic interests swelled its size to 326 members. Stripped of every power but barren deliberation and sterile recommendation, it lost the public interest and almost died. In 1921 there were twenty-

three plenary sessions, the following year sixteen, and in 1923 only eight. Since June, 1923, there has not been a single plenary session. The council found a better way to conduct its business than the Weimar Constitution had provided. Three important committees, those on finance, social and political affairs, meet fairly regularly. This arrangement virtually cuts the membership to the original one hundred. The degradation to which it has sunk is indicated by the fact that its activity is chiefly confined to making reports which may be called for by the Cabinet of the Reichstag. It has become only a handmaiden for the political parliament.

In a chapter on "Socialization and Labor Reform" Mr. Luehr rightly points out the great power and the corresponding moderation exercised by the labor unions, which now have a membership of well over 5,000,000 members. They have secured the eight-hour day and a pretty steady increase of wages year by year. By the works councils, which they dominate, they are able to protect the workers in their collective agreements with capital. Disputes between labor and capital may be settled by arbitration, and the Minister of Economics has authority to see that the arbitration settlement is effective and binding. Wages may be raised but not lowered. Inasmuch as the Social Democratic party is the strongest political party and the Minister of Economics is controlled by a Cabinet in which the Social Democrats have large power, arbitration settlements pretty generally are not to the disadvantage of the working class.

In his paragraphs on the "socialization" of the coal and potash industries Mr. Luehr does not make quite clear to the reader that this is not socialization in the ordinary meaning of the word. Private ownership and operation still remain, though subject to considerable governmental regulation.

In connection with labor reform, Mr. Luehr might well have said something more about workmen's insurance, which now takes some 20 per cent of the workmen's wages, but which goes a long way to relieve him from the great anxiety in regard to unemployment through accident, sickness, old age and lack of work.

Mr. Luehr in one of his last chapters surveys the extent to which the Treaty of Versailles has already been virtually revised by the Dawes plan, the proposed Young plan and other arrangements, and discusses further revisions which Germans think ought to take place. He also in-



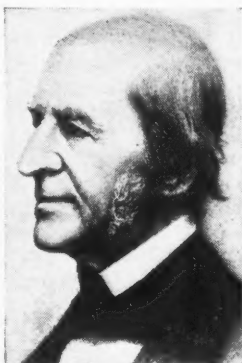
cludes half a dozen good portraits of leading German statesmen.

## Emerson: The Wisest American

By ROBERT MORSS LOVETT

PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

MR. RUSSELL begins his attractive biography of Emerson\* with the story of his hero's struggle with a heifer, reluctant to enter her stall. Emerson pushed from behind. His son Edward pulled in front. All to no avail, until a servant girl who was passing by thrust a finger into the mouth of the animal which followed this maternal guidance into the barn. Whereupon Emerson duly recorded the adventure in his journal with the comment, "I like people who can do things."



EMERSON

Doubtless Mr. Russell's intention in making this episode the introduction to his study of Emerson was to emphasize Emerson's recognition of his incapacity for practical affairs and his disposition to set up in thought a kind of defense mechanism. He admired men of action—Napoleon, Goethe, Daniel Webster. He found a stimulating companion in Achille Murat, son of the most dashing of Napoleon's marshals. Indeed, one of his chief pleasures in Concord was association with neighboring farmers who had mastered the simple, homely rudiments of life, and found it rewarding. But he demanded that such association should be casual and accidental. From participation in ordered, organized society he shrank, although with a note of apology. "Tis worse than tragic," he wrote, "that no man is fit for society who has fine traits. At a distance, he is admired; but bring him hand to hand, he is a cripple. One protects himself by solitude, and one by courtesy, and one by an acid, worldly manner—each

\*Emerson: The Wisest American. By Phillips Russell. New York: Brentano's. 320 pages, 1929. \$5.

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concealing how he can, the thinness of his skin and his incapacity for strict association."

Emerson protected himself by a kind of modified solitude, by his early withdrawal from a professional career in which his success would have been equal to Channing's, and by his refusal to join the various "movements" with which the time was rife. He constantly asserted the superiority of the individual to the conditions of social and material success. "Why should you renounce your right to traverse the starlit deserts of truth for the premature comforts of an acre, a home and a barn?—Make yourself necessary to the world, and mankind will give you bread." And again, "If the single man plant himself indomitably on his instincts, and there abide, the huge world will come round to him." The reiteration of such passages in the essays and journal suggests a kind of bravado, a sort of whistling to keep up courage. But in the end Emerson was justified. The huge world came round to him.

The story of Emerson's life, commonplace in its external happenings but animated by a clear-burning flame at the centre, is fully told in Mr. Russell's book. Emerson's intellectual heredity from a long line of ministers; his unpromising boyhood when, after his father's death, he suffered the genteel poverty of his mother's boarding house; the prolongation of this suppressed existence into college years when he was set off from his classmates by his office of "President's freshman"; his success as a preacher and a lover followed by renunciation and tragic loss; the journey to Europe to establish contact with the greater minds of the day, and its unexpected result in a declaration of America's intellectual independence in the address on the American Scholar; the long, slow years of contemplation of which the fruits came forth in lecture, essay and poem; the domestic experience of which Emerson wrote so gently: "In the morning I awake and find the old world, wife, babes and mother, Concord and Boston, the dear old spiritual world, and even the dear old devil"—all this is related with a certain pungency which never passes the limits of politeness. Mr. Russell has drawn on Emerson's copious record of his experience in the journal and essays—it will seem to some that he has unduly neglected the poems—and woven this matter skillfully into the pattern of his narrative. Those who have read Emerson will find the book full of reminiscential pleasure; those who

have not will find it a stimulating introduction.

Mr. Russell's chief objection to Emerson's attitude was its tendency toward intellectualism and rationalization, a tendency obvious enough in spite of the fact that no voice except Carlyle's was louder than his in praise of the unconscious and spontaneous. Indeed, Emerson's doctrine in this matter was a paraphrase of Carlyle's. Carlyle had written in the "Essay on Characteristics": "The sign of health is unconsciousness. \* \* \* In the body politic as in the animal body the sign of right performance is unconsciousness. \* \* \* Unconsciousness belongs to pure unmixed life; Consciousness to a diseased mixture of life and death. Unconsciousness is a sign of creation; Consciousness at best that of manufacture." Emerson responds with: "Our spontaneous action is always the best," and "Nobody can reflect upon an unconscious act with regret or contempt," and "Culture with us \* \* \* ends in a headache. \* \* \* Do not craze yourself with thinking, but go about your business anywhere."

One reading of the later nineteenth century divides that period between the upholders of the conscious, reason, mind, and those of the unconscious, instinct, heart, schools of which John Stuart Mill and Carlyle were respectively the leaders. But the operations of the unconscious, superior as they may be, can only be discussed and recommended through the conscious. This fact gives rise to the inconsistency aptly noted by a critic of Carlyle who complained that he had preached the doctrine of silence through thirty volumes. Emerson shared this dilemma with other devotees of the mystical faith in the unconscious. Doctrine can be asserted only by precept and example. For teaching by example he was unfitted by a constitutional inaptness for action, illustrated by the incident of the heifer, and recognized by himself in his wistful comment, "I like people who can do things." He was thrown back upon discussion and exhortation which spread abroad the results of his introspection. The dilemma did not trouble Emerson, to whom a foolish consistency was "the hobgoblin of little minds." He continued to preach the doctrine of action in perfect serenity, to attack the uniformity of design and the routine of movement in American life, and to praise self-assertion and extravagance. "Be true to your own act, and congratulate yourself if you have done something strange and extravagant, and broken the monotony of a decorous age." Mr. Russell is justified in

his comment, "But Emerson most admired what was strange and extravagant when it was at a little distance." Nevertheless, his biography shows how far was Emerson's life from fitting into the accepted pattern of American success, so gaudy, vulgar and dull; how far it was a clear and dignified protest against that pattern. Out of that life came those meteoric utterances, aphoristic and gnomic, which seem to have the authority of ages behind them, and those simple quatrains which so often embody our highest intuitions, and which as poetry are not merely calls to action, but have the quality of action itself.

### *Simon Bolivar, the Passionate Warrior*

By WALLACE THOMPSON  
AUTHOR OF *Rainbow Countries of Central America*

**S**IMON BOLIVAR was the spirit incarnate of the Latin-American revolutions.\* His power lay in his realization of every weakness of his disintegrating adversary (the Spain of the Napoleonic intervention and Ferdinand VII), and



BOLIVAR

in his uncanny ability to take a firm grasp of every advantage, through trickery and cleverness, or through appalling and unbelievable endurance and the most superb courage. He was not a great tactician, but he had no rival, in his time and place, as a strategist, and as a leader of tatterdemalion, tiny armies to deeds that take the breath of even the modern hero. He was not a politician, and perhaps not a statesman; yet he saw the problems and the future of the new Latin-American republics more clearly than any man of his time and than most of those who have watched or acted in those problems since his time. A paradox; a genius who freed half a continent and died penniless and

\**Simon Bolivar, the Passionate Warrior.* By T. R. Ybarra. New York: Ives Washburn, 1929. 365 pp. \$4.

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repudiated; a dictator who turned his back on the glorious moment of triumph for which he had given his life, at the orders of a distant congress which he had himself created; a dreamer who achieved a stupendous success on the foundation of his dreams, and lived to see them, nearly all, crumble to dust. Truly, Simon Bolivar was the spirit of the mad, impossible, stupendous revolutions of Latin America.

The literature in English regarding Bolivar has, until the past few years, been hopelessly limited. Almost nothing had been written since the personal reminiscences of Bolivar's English aides, until the Venezuelan Government issued a small brochure from the pen of the late Guillermo Sherwell, on the occasion of the centenary of independence. A year ago a novel appeared, and this year two biographies. Outstanding, at any stage of the century since Bolivar's death, is the contribution of one of these recent books. It comes from the pen of one of the best known and most prolific of New York critics and journalists, who is revealed by the notes on this book as the great-grandson of one of Bolivar's Generals, a great-grandnephew of one of Bolivar's most devoted aides, and himself a Venezuelan, a native of Caracas. Mr. Ybarra emerges, however, as a historian and critic fully alive to the weaknesses and mistakes of his hero, in a book whose outstanding worth, historically, is certainly in the balanced and careful evaluation which it brings to the far-flung and confusing events of the epic life of the liberator. Not that the author is not an intense partisan of Bolivar. He makes short shrift of Bolivar's enemies, and even Santander is shipped off to exile with only a brief reference to his denial of the charges of his association in the conspiracy against Bolivar. But Mr. Ybarra's book is of sound historical value, and none the less so because he sees his subject so firmly set in the Valhalla of history.

Simon Bolivar stands supreme in South American history, in his own niche—San Martin and Sucre were greater Generals, and neither they nor Bolivar need give aught to the other, as Sucre himself saw, even if San Martin could hardly do so. Bolivar has weathered the century since his death with ever-increasing glory. His detractors hovered like buzzards about his bier, and throughout his life none spared him, even at the heights of his success. Since his death the long list of the calumnies has been kept alive by historians fearful of their own enthusiasms; indeed, the tendency of North Americans to take

seriously the floods of printed pamphlets of the revolutionary era in Latin America has, too often, in the case of others as well as Bolivar, warped their historical judgment of a century free from the aegis of those bitter attacks of his selfish contemporaries.

Mr. Ybarra's work seems to cut those old limitations. It is not, properly speaking, a history of the great liberator, and the absence of index and reference notes emphasize its lack in this direction. It remains, however, a historical source book, almost as if written from first-hand knowledge, yet with the judgment and values that only a century of elapsed time could give. The author has faced and pleasantly solved problems that baffle the conventional historian. No one, for instance, has dared in a history to set down what Bolivar and San Martin talked about in that memorable interview alone in Guayaquil, from which the Argentine turned back to retirement and exile. Yet Mr. Ybarra sets down simply what they *must* have talked about, and the conclusions they *must* have reached, in the light of preceding and subsequent events—a better solution than allowing the unripe student or casual reader to draw his own conclusions from the records of partisan contemporary commentators.

The book is in no sense a popular biography of the current type, and, indeed, this was apparently carefully avoided. Although Mr. Ybarra brings in many of the human failings and problems of Bolivar—material which, elaborated, would have made this a highly appealing work to the historical scandalmongers—he introduces them with the obvious determination that the book shall be historically correct. The pages are beautifully and skillfully written, the technique modern and free. Mr. Ybarra has obviously taken immense pains with his translations of the carefully selected quotations from Bolivar's writings, and other material from the Spanish. The renditions are completely free from stilted Spanish constructions in the English, but soundly exact none the less, an achievement for which the reader should be more grateful than most of them will know. The author goes so far, indeed, as to give a "Southern drawl" to the quotations from his Venezuelan negroes, but in view of the fact that their Spanish is actually more rounded than that of Spanish speakers of the same words, the translation into the English is certainly justified verisimilitude.

A notable and valuable portion of the work is the description, couched in beauti-



ful English, of the scenes and settings of the great crises in Bolivar's life. The description of the march over the Andes, through the icy winds of the páramos, is superbly done, as are the word-pictures of a dozen of the battles and the settings of as many historical events. Mr. Ybarra has brought the story into his pages in more ways than with adjectives, and has carefully selected for the emphasis of his eloquent descriptions the scenes and events of highest accent in the liberator's life. Too much praise cannot be given to the achievement of the extremely difficult and important balance which the author has gained in his recording of the varied and kaleidoscopic events of Bolivar's life. The whole careful scheme of the book is indicative of the devotion which has gone into its creation, in concept, in evaluation of material and in presentation. It is essentially historical in the highest sense, the sense of bringing history close to the life of the reader.

## La Fayette

By WILLIAM MacDONALD  
HISTORIAN AND PUBLICIST

**M**R. WHITLOCK, sometime American Ambassador to Belgium, has written not only one of the best of the biographies which have come in a torrent from the press during the past year or two, but also by far the best biography of La Fayette\* that has yet been produced. The text gives abundant evidence of thoroughgoing use of the documentary material now available in print, and lovers of good writing will be drawn to the work by its lively and often brilliant style. The principal criticism to be made of it is one that is likely to apply to any biography of a distinguished figure which is not, in the familiar phrase, a "life and times," namely, that in keeping La Fayette conspicuously to the fore it sometimes magnifies the significance of the



LA FAYETTE

\**La Fayette*. By Brand Whitlock. Two volumes, 475 and 452 pages. Illustrated. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1929. \$10.

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events in which he took part. Aside from this the book leaves nothing to be desired in either plan or comprehensiveness, while as an example of historical narration it merits very high praise.

Mr. Whitlock is obviously enamored of La Fayette, but only at a few points does he allow his interest or sympathy to draw him into the position of an advocate or defender. He is content to set down the facts, usually in considerable detail, and to let the facts carry such convictions as they may. It was easier, perhaps, to follow this course because of the long period of La Fayette's life and the extraordinary variety of stirring events with which he had to do. In his youth he was presented to George III at St. James's Palace, London, and saw the old Louis XV playing cards at Versailles. He fought in the American Revolution, went through the greater revolution in France, and the revolutionary movements of 1830, four years before his death, drew him into their sweep. He twice visited America during the Revolutionary War, coming for a third time years later to receive such an ovation as the country has never accorded to any other guest, while in France he traversed the lists from soldier, commander, deputy and statesman to refugee, prisoner, revolutionary agitator, and the embodiment of tradition. Wherever he was he was in the spotlight, for he loved popularity and could not long put up with second place in the public eye.

In the old sense of one who adventures or takes risks, La Fayette was an adventurer, and his adventures from the first were linked with revolution. His first visit to America, shortly after independence had been declared, was, as Mr. Whitlock says, "the pure flame of romance," all the more extraordinary because he did not seem to realize that American success would react to unsettle royal government in France. Mr. Whitlock brings out very well the difficulties which La Fayette met on reaching America, his slow conquest of Washington's confidence and affection, and his devotion and fortitude in the military service.

Having survived the Winter at Valley Forge and seen the surrender of Cornwallis, La Fayette returned to France to plunge shortly into the beginnings of the Revolution. He was a member of the Assembly of Notables at Versailles and read to the National Assembly the famous Declaration of the Rights of Man. Soon he was commanding the Paris Guard and escorting the King and Queen to Paris,

where the King swore to the Constitution. Then, from 1792 to 1797, he was a prisoner of the Austrians, his release being due not only to the successes of Bonaparte but also to the good offices of Gouverneur Morris, American Minister to France.

The return to Paris, where a volatile public opinion, after turning against him, was again ready to acclaim him, was for La Fayette a parting of the ways. He could not see in Bonaparte an assurance of either liberty or constitutionalism, and Mr. Whitlock traces with special care the relations and growing estrangement of the two men. An offer of the American mission was declined, as was that of a seat in the French Senate, but Bonaparte had the upper hand, and when the First Consul made himself Consul for life, La Fayette retired to La Grange, his country estate near Paris. Again fortune favored him and he presently was elected to the Chamber of Deputies, and, in 1814, was in a position to take a leading part in forcing Napoleon's abdication after the defeat at Waterloo.

Mr. Whitlock shows much skill in keeping clear the main threads in a maze of conflicting circumstances, and he does this with special success for the period of La Fayette's life after 1815. With the Napoleonic wars ended and monarchy restored, La Fayette's championship of constitutional government branded him as a dangerous person, and his re-election to the Chamber of Deputies in 1818 "shocked all Europe." It was not for him, however, a period of great accomplishment, and in 1824 a new electoral law cost him a re-election and sent him again to La Grange to await further opportunity. It was in this interval of retirement from public affairs that he made his famous visit to the United States.

The final crisis of a career thickly set with crises came in 1830, when the reactionary decrees of Charles X once more put constitutionalism in peril. The Chamber of Deputies was dissolved, a new electoral system was set up which the government would control, and the press was muzzled. For a moment it seemed that La Fayette, called to command the National Guard and backed by enthusiastic public support, might if he chose make himself president of a French republic. The American Minister, William C. Rives, helped him to a decision by remarking coldly, in answer to a question, that if France proclaimed a republic the American people would say "that years of experience have been lost on the French."

La Fayette took the hint and threw his support to the Duke of Orléans as a constitutional sovereign.

Thereafter, until his death in 1934, La Fayette spent his time at La Grange, where Mr. Whitlock shows him holding a kind of republican court, beset with visitors, sheltering refugees from various countries, and listening patiently to "reformers with panaceas for saving the world, obsessed by their own infallible programs." He died at Paris, and so fearful was the government of a popular demonstration that it ordered a State funeral,

and lined the route to the cemetery with an imposing array of troops and artillery. In America President Jackson ordered that the same military honors should be paid that Washington had received; Congress draped its halls with black and wore mourning for thirty days, and John Quincy Adams, a Representative from Massachusetts after his term as President, was chosen to deliver the memorial address.

Mr. Whitlock speaks of La Fayette's "loneliness" in his later years, and finds in this a link which connects La Fayette

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with political liberals the world over. The characterization is not without force if one will dissociate La Fayette's liberalism from such views as have been held, for example, by so-called Liberals in England. As pictured in Mr. Whitlock's volumes, La Fayette was essentially a man of action, and his zeal for action, the circumstances of the times being what they were, led him straight toward revolution. He was in no proper sense a democrat; his temper was aristocratic as was his personal bearing, and he had seen too much of mobs to make him eager for universal popular rule. He affords a unique example of a man of aristocratic birth, training and tastes devoting himself throughout a long life and without stint to what he regarded as the popular welfare, yet all the while remaining temperamentally aloof from democratic excesses. In the general history of revolutionary and Napoleonic France his rôle, save for certain incidents, is a minor one, and Mr. Whitlock notes that he is still, in some French circles, regarded as a demagogue and a visionary. In America, on the other hand, he has not ceased to rank next to Washington in the popular mind as a hero and patriot, a knightly person who came to help and took no thought.

## *The Russian Revolution*

By V. F. CALVERTON

EDITOR, *The Modern Quarterly*

WHEN WE REMEMBER that the Russian State ever since the days of Vladimir, well nigh a thousand years ago, was conjoined with the Orthodox Church, we can appreciate something of the enormity of the change that was effected in ecclesiastical affairs in Russia after the Soviet revolution. The Soviet Government, in separating Church and State, broke the back of theocratic power, and brought about a revolution in ruling policy. In advocating an "atheistic" instead of a religious attitude the Soviet rulers by enactment and propaganda turned "holy Russia" into "profane Russia." While churches still operate, and priests still function, it is always within the shadow of a philosophy that is antagonistic to them. Mr. Spinka's book *The Church and the Russian Revolution*\* deals with all the various vicissitudes through which the Russian Church passed

in the last generation. The first chapter of his book is concerned with the historic background of the Russian Church as a whole, and ventures into a very interesting analysis of the Russian mind and its peculiar mysticism of outlook. In the later chapters of his book he deals in particular with that decisive contrast which exists between the Russian Church before the Soviet revolution and after. While a religious man himself, Mr. Spinka manages to preserve an attitude of remarkable objectivity in his entire survey of the amazing and oftentimes catastrophic changes which have occurred.

Although the material which Mr. Spinka provides in this book in tracing the evolution of recent changes in the Russian Church is valuable to the student of Russian history, it is his discussion of what happened to the Russian Church since the Soviet revolution that is most significant for the general historian. When the Soviet Government stripped the Church of any claims upon the State, it really struck far more sharply at the lives and habits of the official ecclesiastics than it did at the lives and habits of the religious masses. The clergy, for example, lost their legal exemption from military service and their right to marry people according to religious custom. For a time at least, as Mr. Spinka points out, the Church was even "deprived of all means of educating the young, even for the priesthood." In January, 1918, a decree was issued "which stopped all financial aid for the purposes of religious worship." Besides these legal manoeuvres, every trace of ancient icon or religious symbol was removed from public buildings and from public display. All this activity on the part of the Soviet Government in its fight against religious power naturally evoked the unanimous hostility of the Orthodox Church and its officials. It was as a result of this struggle between these two powers, secular and religious, that many of the early misfortunes of the revolution occurred. The priests not only fought Soviet authority in the open but very often they allied themselves with counter-revolutionary forces in conspiracies to overthrow the Soviet Government. Mr. Spinka is one of the few religious men who went to Soviet Russia and came back convinced that the Soviet Government was not unjustified in imprisoning such priests and fighting their machinations to the very end.

Mr. Spinka indicates in considerable detail the distinction between the attitude of the Soviet rulers toward religious worship and the policy of the Soviet Govern-

\**The Church and the Russian Revolution*. By Matthew Spinka. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929. \$2.50.



ment in connection with the practice of religious liberty: "It may be remarked here that the Communist party is officially atheistic and every member of it is obliged to confess that creed; but the Russian Government, in distinction from the Communist party, proclaims itself to be entirely extraconfessional, secular, i. e., it grants freedom of both religious and anti-religious confession and propaganda." In other words, while the Soviet Government may fight religion through education and prevent any possible return of religious domination of the State, it now pursues a definite policy of non-interference in connection with existing religious institutions and their spokesmen.

While Mr. Spinka has faced unpleasant as well as pleasant facts with equally fearless candor, and maintained an undeviating fairness of attitude in his interpretation of them all, Baron Alexander Meyendorff in his volume *The Background of the Russian Revolution*<sup>†</sup> has displayed neither candor nor fairness in his judgments of persons or events. Baron Meyendorff has failed completely to understand the revolution or its purpose. Mr. Spinka thus succeeded in just the way that Baron Meyendorff failed. Baron Meyendorff's book reveals a bias against the entire Soviet revolution and its achievements which makes it totally impossible for him to attain anything like objectivity of judgment or impartiality in his appraisal of historic change. The book, moreover, is written in a terribly awkward and confused style which makes it extremely difficult for the reader to apprehend the writer's exact meaning.

It is a book full of attitudes that reveal prejudices sufficient to destroy the value of any historic thesis. Meyendorff's reference to Jews and "Jewish revolutionaries" betrays a reaction that is often seen on the part of White Russian agitators but should not be discovered in a historic analysis. His promiscuous praise of all authors who have attacked the Soviet régime and his swift and curt dismissal of all who have praised it are but further expressions of his vicious partiality. Certainly we are in a position today in which we can evaluate what has happened in Soviet Russia without resorting to the hysterical extremes of complete condemnation or complete commendation. If Baron Meyendorff had maintained such an attitude in his analysis his volume might have been a study of

<sup>†</sup>*The Background of the Russian Revolution.* By Baron Alexander Meyendorff. New York: Henry Holt & Co, 1929. \$2.50.

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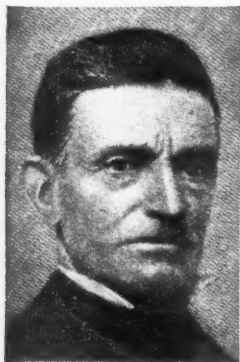


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importance. As it is, it is merely an attack in which a vast number of disconnected notes are gathered together in an attempt to prove an extremely one-sided and hopeless thesis.

## *The Dictionary of American Biography*

THE THIRD volume of the "Dictionary of American Biography"\* maintains, if, indeed, it does not raise the singularly high standard of scholarship and literary quality set by the two preceding volumes. The list of contributors



JOHN BROWN

contains many of the same prominent names; the list of subjects, ranging alphabetically from Brearley to Chandler, covers personalities in equally varied fields of human activity.

One of the most interesting sketches is that of Phillips Brooks, the famous Episcopal Bishop, described

as "an interpreter, not a pioneer," by the author, Charles Allen Dinsmore. Mr. Dinsmore presents a vivid picture of Brooks's position in the religious life of the United States, and an equally vivid picture of the place of religion in the man's life. Phillips Brooks's message, says Mr. Dinsmore, was to bring to man an "understanding of the liberty, the joy, the abounding life one may find in the spirit and by the power of Christ."

An equally interesting biography in an entirely different field is that of Alfred Hulse Brooks, the Alaskan geologist. He was not a man generally well known in the United States, but his work as the chief of the Alaskan Geological Survey won him a position of considerable importance among the geologists of the nation and was of great value in the plans for development of that country. His biographer, George Perkins Merrill,

says of him that he was a "man of unusual breadth, clearness of vision, and prompt action."

The list of prominent Browns and Brownes is, of course, especially long. There is a delightful summary by Stephen Leacock of Charles F. Browne, better known as Artemus Ward, the humorist of the nineteenth century. There is an account of John Brown by Allen Johnson, who lays Brown's raid at Harpers Ferry, partially, at least, to inherited insanity. There is an account of the sculptor Henry Kirke Brown, and of Charles Brockden Brown, the novelist, the first in the United States, so the writer says, to take up authorship as a profession.

Among the more prominent politicians, using the word in its better sense, are John Cabell Breckenridge, Vice President under Buchanan; William Jennings Bryan who receives a rather colorless sketch at the hands of Allen Johnson; James Buchanan, Aaron Burr, and John C. Calhoun. Many other spheres of interest are represented; botany receives its share of notice through Luther Burbank and John Burroughs, literature through George Cable, athletics through Walter Camp, music through Enrico Caruso, pioneering through Samuel de Champlain and Kit Carson, modern capitalism and philanthropy through Andrew Carnegie.

This volume contains a comprehensive gathering of notable persons, a list to encourage any cynic who may be despondent over America's production of great men.

M. K. M.

## *Who Will Be Master, Europe or America?*

By J. C. LONG

AUTHOR OF *Bryan, the Great Commoner*

IN a penetrating study of the American scene, Lucien Romier, French historian and journalist, depicts us as a nation of robots. This volume\* summarizes the matter in not so trite a fashion, but that is the net of it. America, we learn, is so successful because the people as a whole have adjusted themselves to mass-industry and mass-salesmanship. For mass-prosperity there must be standardized production, and therefore mass-acceptance of similar articles is leading to mass-taste.

The penalty of this system thus far

\**Dictionary of American Biography*. Vol. III. Brearley-Chandler. Under the Auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies. Edited by Allen Johnson. New York: 1929. Charles Scribner's Sons.

\**Who Will Be Master, Europe or America?* By Lucien Romier. New York: Macaulay, 1929. \$2.50.

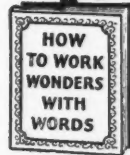
has been the sacrifice of contemplation and individualism and the lack of mastering philosophy to use the economic advantages which have accrued. Clearly, this is a picture of a robot nation. But though M. Romier's conclusions are not unusual, his observations on the different phenomena of American life are always arresting, and, usually, illuminating. He holds, for example, that the merging of industry into a few large groups is inescapable, that "dynamic capitalism" has accomplished as much as the hopes of old-fashioned socialism, that warfare between the employer and employed is fading because they have the common cause of mass-prosperity, and that liberalism is as out of date as feudalism. In short, we must accept what is and learn how to handle it.

One has the feeling, however, that the picture is over-simplified. In the United States, M. Romier finds, "there are no more, or at least very few, private residences, no more detached homes." Even to a New Yorker this statement is something of a surprise when he recalls the decline in population on Manhattan and the rise of the suburbs. "The private dwelling is no more, the family group is no more. \* \* \* Woman loses, to be sure, the surveillance that surrounded her, but also the protection, the bonds of sentiment and traditions which upheld her."

If these observations seem exaggerated, nevertheless there are hundreds of pages which are at least so close to true as to be discomforting. For example: "The principle of getting rich and getting-rich-quick establishes the whole scale of values and affects even the daily speech and imagination of the average American. For him the country is not 'the country,' but the place where wheat, corn, cotton, even real estate is raised; a river is not a 'river' properly, but a means of transportation, or a source of hydroelectric power; a journey is not made for the purpose of 'traveling,' but becomes a useful removal; friendship is not merely 'friendship,' but a matter of mutual service. \* \* \* Thus a theatre is not supposed to bother about art, but to pay dividends to its stockholders. The solidity of a house, or the esthetic appeal of a skyscraper matter little; what is paramount is that as a business operation the house or skyscraper 'pay' in the briefest possible time."

These observations are not made in any spirit of hostility. M. Romier brings to his subject a sympathetic and discerning eye. After the analysis just quoted he con-

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tinues to explain why Americans are as they are, and why they often create an undesirable impression abroad: "This way of understanding life and ranging values produces certain disorders—even economic ones!—which the United States is beginning to suffer from. Socially it is the cause of that crudeness for which the people on the other side of the Atlantic are commonly reproached. But the American is not coarse. He is very humane, as I have said before. He has even certain charming gifts of delicacy. But as a social being, the American is a man who 'works fast,' who seldom shows finesse, and blunders rather often into scrapes, which he is at any rate able to get out of with some spirit and much good humor. His devouring ambition is to get to the end of an affair quickly, and to make a lasting or profound effect is a lesser consideration with him."

The presentation of the interrelationship of mass-production with prosperity, native temperament and politics is accomplished with singular clarity. The outline of our social state seems less valid. Just as an American inevitably finds it difficult to understand fully the customs and the overtones of the French or British ways of living, so M. Romier views with perhaps too much alarm the condition of American womanhood and the family. "New conditions of existence have come into play," he writes, "and woman was infinitely less prepared than man for the mass life of modern times. The economic upheavals have suddenly lifted her out of her sunny, secluded or sheltered ways, and thrown her into the surging press of crowd life."

While the shortage of domestic servants has been a blow to the easy functioning of thousands of homes of moderate income, it may also be a symbol of the improved status of those who formerly lived in the condition of servants. The author feels that family life is seriously threatened. It is true that the public laundry, the restaurant and the apartment have robbed the home of some of its economic urgency, yet the home continues to be the social unit. Even our large divorce figures may indicate an endorsement of the family ideal in America. The American may consider certain circumstances demand a divorce, because of their threat to the family standard—circumstances which in older countries would be regarded as part of the normal social system.

At the conclusion\* of this book, which is fundamentally a brilliant portrayal of

the advantages as well as the hazards of materialism, the historian thus answers the question raised in his title: "The issue of the contest is still open either to Europe or America. It will be decided and won by the mother of the family and the school. The future belongs to the best school and the best family, which will be capable, despite the machine, of furnishing human energy with a purpose and a justification other than that merely of eating and drinking."

### *Twelve Against the Gods: The Story of Adventure*

TO read Mr. Bolitho's book about twelve adventurers is in itself an adventure.\* It is an exploration of that intriguing, and, by most of us, uncharted territory—the adventurous life. In isolating the essence of such a life and building up a definition of his own, Mr. Bolitho rejects all the popular conceptions of adventure, from Kipling to Byrd. "We renounce utterly," he says, "the comfort of Mr. Kipling who believes commuting and soldiering in the British Army and buying English country houses adventurous; and Mr.



CASANOVA

Chesterton, who is certain that a long walk on Sunday and a glass of beer set one spiritually in the company of Alexander and Captain Kidd and Cagliostro."

No; these short cuts to pseudo-adventure are too easy. The way of the adventurer is hard, dangerous and exciting. But by this definition Atlantic flyers, polar explorers and Mount Everest climbers should seem eligible for admittance to this company. Again, no, says Mr. Bolitho. The true adventurer, and here is the quintessence of the matter, is inevitably against the gods—the gods of society, law, order, the family, goodness, kindness, respectability and the police. Which accounts for the fact that adventurers are scarce. For while we are all born with deeply anti-social yearnings,

\**Twelve Against the Gods: The Story of Adventure.* By William Bolitho. New York. Simon & Schuster. 1929. \$4.



we must strangle them to survive. "We are born as wasteful and unremorseful as tigers; we are obliged to be thrifty, or starve and freeze. We are born to wander, and cursed to stay and dig." This the adventurer refuses to do, and so he becomes an outlaw, not admirable but in a sense magnificent and important, since "history is jolted along with great breaches of law and order."

Having thus made a preliminary explanation of his thesis, Mr. Bolitho proceeds to stage for his readers a sorrowful and triumphant parade of twelve men and women who walked alone and outside the pale, but who usually before the end deserted the adventure to sit down by the wayside and count their gains. The first is Alexander "who lived like fire, fought like fire and died young, burnt out." Then comes Casanova whose adventure was woman ("he gave them everything he possessed and his whole self, in one single payment"); Lola Montez, whose adventure was man ("developing inevitably into a running fight with the institution of marriage"); Christopher Columbus, who got more than his due ("adventure is an excited appeal for injustice"); Charles XII of Sweden ("the life of an adventurer is the practice of the art of the impossible"). There follow the two Napoleons, Mahomet, Catiline, Cagliostro, Isadora Duncan and Woodrow Wilson. Each adds something to the sum total of adventure. Each sheds new light on the meaning of the adventurous life.

At the start Mr. Bolitho renounces romance and gives his fealty to impartiality and coldbloodedness. He keeps his vow almost to the end. But in the essay on Woodrow Wilson it is impossible not to feel the genuine emotional impetus behind his writing. It is the finest writing in the book, and that is saying a great deal. The thoughts fairly leap up from the page so clearly and directly that, unless we stop to analyze, the brilliant style is not noticeable at all. "Here is a man," we are told of Wilson, "who imposed himself—

ask the party bosses—as the supreme head of the continental empire of the United States. Who further handled that colossal power as if it were a sword in his hand, sheathing it when he wished, baring it at his own moment. With this and the power of his thought he ends the war. And then in person he sets out to save humanity by ending war forever. These are acts and a personage at least the peer in romance of anything that has come about in humanity before. \* \* \* So pure was this motive, so unflecked with anything that his worst enemies could find, except the mildest and most excusable, a personal vanity, practically the minimum to be human, that in a sense his adventure is that of humanity itself. In Wilson, the whole of mankind breaks camp, sets out from home and wrestles with the universe and its gods. That is his difference from the others, and that is why he must close the whole matter."

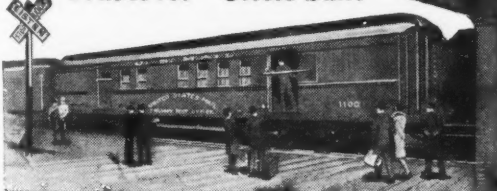
D. E. W.

### Brief Book Reviews

**SURVEY OF AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS, 1929.** Prepared under the direction of Charles P. Howland. Published for the Council on Foreign Relations. New Haven: Yale University Press. \$5.

This is the second volume which we owe to the labors of Mr. Howland as director of research of the Council on Foreign Relations, assisted by a group of collaborators of high distinction and scholarship. Following the principle of selecting topics "in which a culmination of some sort has thrown the questions involved into high relief, or those which have come to a stage of temporary arrest and to allow of deliberate examination," Mr. Howland has in the survey for 1929 concentrated attention on the republics of the Caribbean and Central America, the World Court, the Pact of Paris and Immigration. The work throughout is characterized by a scrupulous care for accuracy, balanced treatment and sound writing, and it is an excellent

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example of what may be achieved by co-operative intellectual effort when scholars, as Mr. Howland tells us is the case here, are willing to merge their identity in a common purpose. For that reason these annual surveys become indispensable to all who are interested in our relations with the rest of the world.

**ENGLISH GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS.** By Frederic A. Ogg. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929. \$4.25.

Professor Ogg of the University of Wisconsin in this work has brought his fine and comprehensive grasp of politics and his remarkable range of knowledge to bear upon the most intricate of all studies of Constitutions and their actual functioning under the conditions which have produced them. England is governed, not by a Constitution which was formulated in a single fundamental law, but by a mass of enactments, precedents and customs which has been evolving for many centuries and is still evolving from year to year. It is, therefore, no slight achievement on Professor Ogg's part to have made clear within the compass of a volume of 770 pages the nature and operation of the complex constitutional and political system of the British people.

**A HISTORY OF MODERN TIMES FROM 1789 TO THE PRESENT DAY.** By D. M. Ketelbey. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1929. \$3.75.

This is an excellent summary in nearly 600 pages not only of European history, but as far as possible of the development of the whole world since the first days of the French revolution. This wider scope is obtained by three sections on colonial expansion, the United States of America and the Far East. A considerable number of well selected maps add to the usefulness of the book as a text for the use of college students.

## Recent Important Books

By JAMES THAYER GEROULD  
LIBRARIAN, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

### BIOGRAPHY

EDWARDS, J. HUGH. *David Lloyd George: The Man and the Statesman.* New York: Sears, 1929. Two volumes. \$7.50.

The most extensive biography that thus far has appeared. "Official" in character, laudatory and uncritical.

KESSLER, HARRY. *Walther Rathenau: His Life and Work.* London: Howe, 1929. 16 shillings.

Rathenau may truthfully be called one of the founders of republican Germany; and his murder, at the height of his influence and power, a national tragedy.

LANDAU, ROM. *Pilsudski and Poland.* Translated by Geoffrey Dunlop. New York: McVeagh, 1929. \$5.

The enigmatic character and career of

the soldier-statesman, who has been, and still is, the central figure in recent Polish history.

LYNCH, DENIS TILDEN. *An Epoch and a Man: Martin Van Buren and His Time.* New York: Liveright, 1929. \$4.

New York and national politics in the first half of the nineteenth century. A very readable account of the life of one who was more politician than statesman.

### HISTORY

LAUT, AGNES C. *The Overland Trail.* New York: Stokes, 1929. \$3.50.

A thrilling story of the exploration and settlement of the Far West.

SAXON, LYLE. *Old Louisiana.* New York: Century, 1929. \$5.

A delightful "chronicle of two centuries of plantation life, a book of footnotes to history." Tales, gay and gruesome, of a civilization now past.

VERRILL, A. HYATT. *Great Conquerors of South and Central America.* New York: Appleton, 1929. \$3.

Gathers, in a readable volume, the substance of what is now known regarding the civilizations of the Mayas, the Aztecs, the Toltecs, the Incas and other minor peoples.

VULLIAMY, C. E. *The Red Archives.* Russian State papers, 1910-1918. Selected and edited by C. E. Vulliamy. Translated by A. L. Hynes. London: Bles, 1929. 16 shillings.

Presents, in an orderly arrangement, the more important documents of the war period that have been published by the Soviet Government.

### ECONOMICS

LYON, LEVERETT SAMUEL. *Hand to Mouth Buying: A Study in the Organization, Planning and Stabilization of Trade.* Washington: Brookings Institution, 1929. \$4.

Since the war there has come a far-reaching change in the order basis of industry. This study attempts to estimate the reasons for it and to describe its effect on the manufacturing and business community.

### POLITICAL SCIENCE

HUTCHINSON, PAUL. *The United States of Europe.* Chicago: Willett, Clark & Colby, 1929. \$2.

An outline of an exceedingly important subject. Discusses the reasons for the origin of the movement, the cohesive forces now at work, the difficulties that must be overcome, and the possible results from its attainment.

LAWRENCE, DAVID. *The Other Side of Government.* New York: Scribner, 1929. \$2.50.

Mr. Lawrence's long service as a Washington correspondent has given him a knowledge of our government excelled by few. He describes its varied activities simply, concisely and interestingly.

POTTER, PITMAN B. *This World of Nations: Foundations, Institutions, Practices.* New York: Macmillan, 1929. \$4.

A very readable book on the fundamen-

tals of international relations and organization. Non-technical in treatment. The author regards international cooperation as but an expression of national self-interest.

SIMON, KATHLEEN. *Slavery*. With a preface by her husband, the Right Hon. Sir John Simon. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1929. 12s 6d.

Using readily obtainable official data, Lady Simon estimates that there are today over 4,000,000 slaves. She discusses the problems involved in their liberation with directness and with sanity.

#### SOCIOLOGY

STRATTON, GEORGE MALCOLM. *Social Psychology of International Conduct*. New York: Appleton, 1929. \$3.

What are the reasons for race and national prejudice? In answering this question the author attempts to show a way by which these impulses may be turned toward peace rather than war.

#### MISCELLANEOUS

AKELEY, MARY L. JOBE. *Carl Akeley's Africa*. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1929. \$5.

An account of the Akeley-Eastman-Pomeroy African Hall expedition of the American Museum of Natural History, during which Akeley lost his life. Mrs. Akeley, who was a member of the expedition, has described it in a book that is at once vividly written and informing.

DICKMAN, ERNEST W. *This Aviation Business*. New York: Brentano's, 1929. \$3.50.

"Being an attempt to dispell the fog of mystery, ignorance, misdirected enthusiasm, and just plain lying, which surround our latest industrial infant." (Preface.) Breezy, but very complete and satisfactory.

EATON, WALTER PRICHARD. *The Theatre Guild: The First Ten Years*. New York: Brentano's, 1929. \$4.

A remarkable record of accomplishment in an organization that has done so much toward the rejuvenation of the theatre in America.

HILL, RODERIC. *The Bagdad Air Mail*. London: Arnold, 1929. 18 shillings.

A personal narrative of flights, on the Cairo-Bagdad air-mail service route and elsewhere in Iraq.

MACGOWAN, KENNETH. *Footlights Across America Toward a National Theatre*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1929. \$3.75.

An enthusiastic and exhaustive review of the "little theatre" movement in American towns and universities, its organization and financing.

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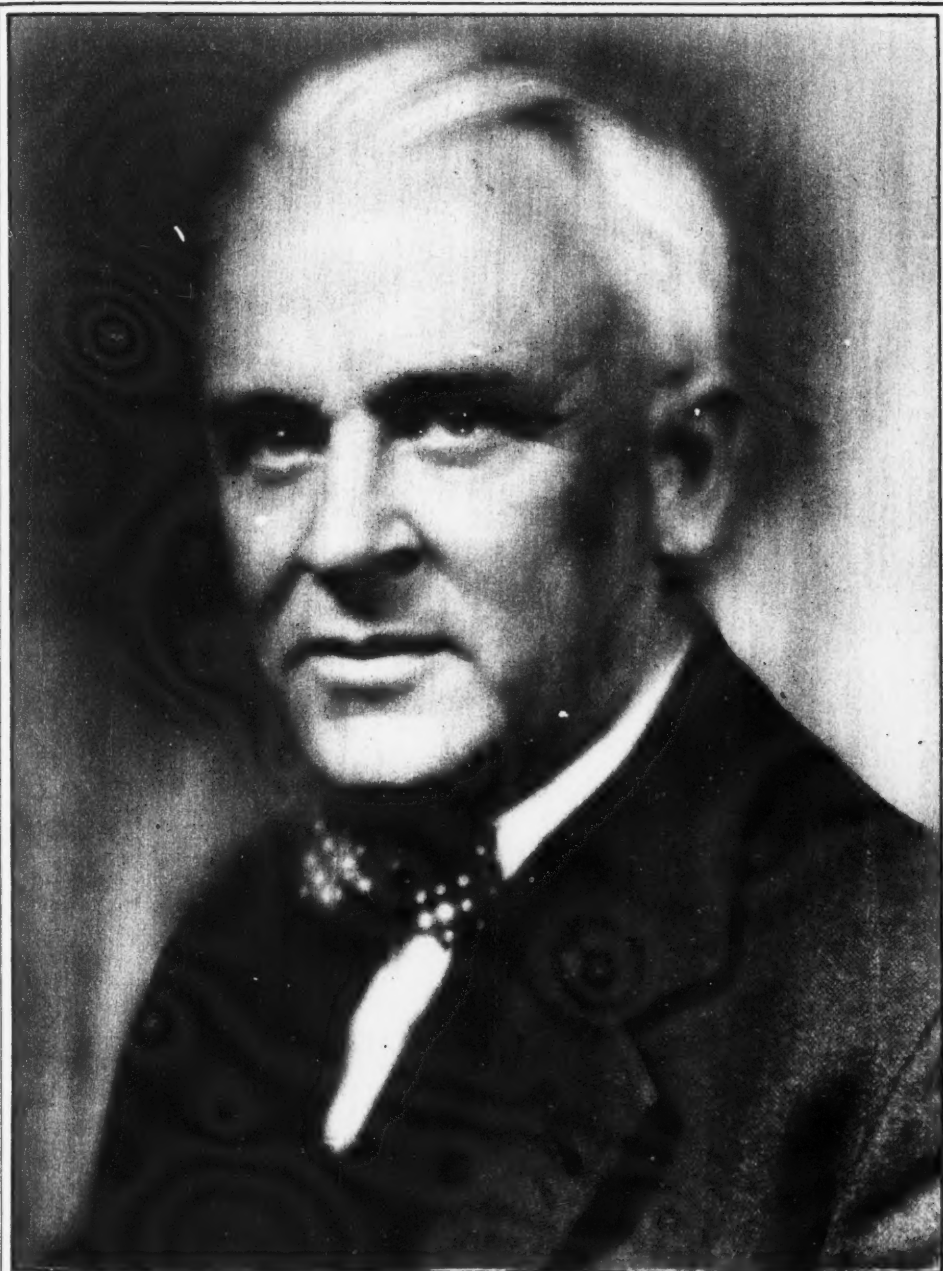
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## Pictures in Rotogravure



New York Times Studio

### ROBERT ANDREWS MILLIKAN

The American physicist and foremost scientific thinker who was chosen president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science on Dec. 29. In 1923 Dr. Millikan was awarded the Nobel Prize for his researches on the electron

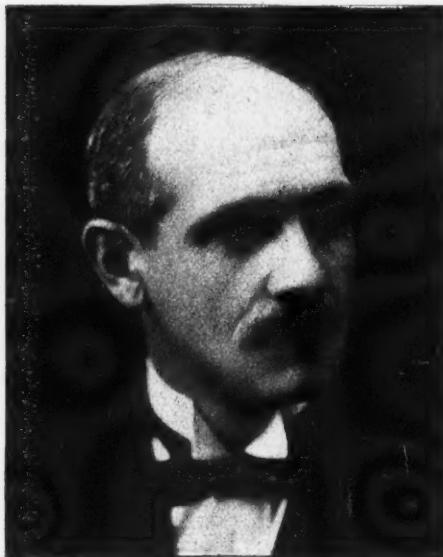
AMONG THE DELEGATES—



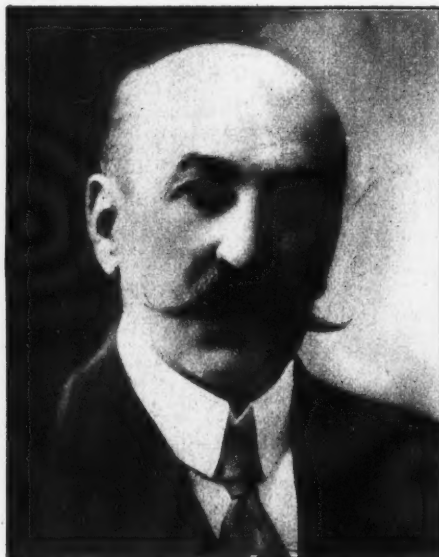
Times Wide World  
**CAPTAIN WEDGWOOD BENN**  
 The British delegation includes (beside Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald and Arthur Henderson, Secretary for Foreign Affairs) the Secretary of State for India



Times Wide World  
**ALBERT V. ALEXANDER**  
 First Lord of the Admiralty and British delegate



Acme  
**FRANCOIS PIETRI**  
 Minister of Colonies and French delegate



Associated Press  
**GEORGES LEYGUES**  
 Member of the French delegation headed by Premier Tardieu and Foreign Minister Briand

# AT THE LONDON NAVAL CONFERENCE



Times Wide World

**DINO GRANDI**

Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs and  
head of Italy's delegation to London



Associated Press

**REIJIRO WAKATSUKI**

Former Premier and leader of the  
Japanese delegation to the conference



Times Wide World

**AMBASSADOR BORDONARO**

The Italian representative at London,  
also a delegate



Acme

**ADMIRAL TAKARABE**

A member of the Japanese delegation

THE END OF THE POPE'S CAPTIVITY

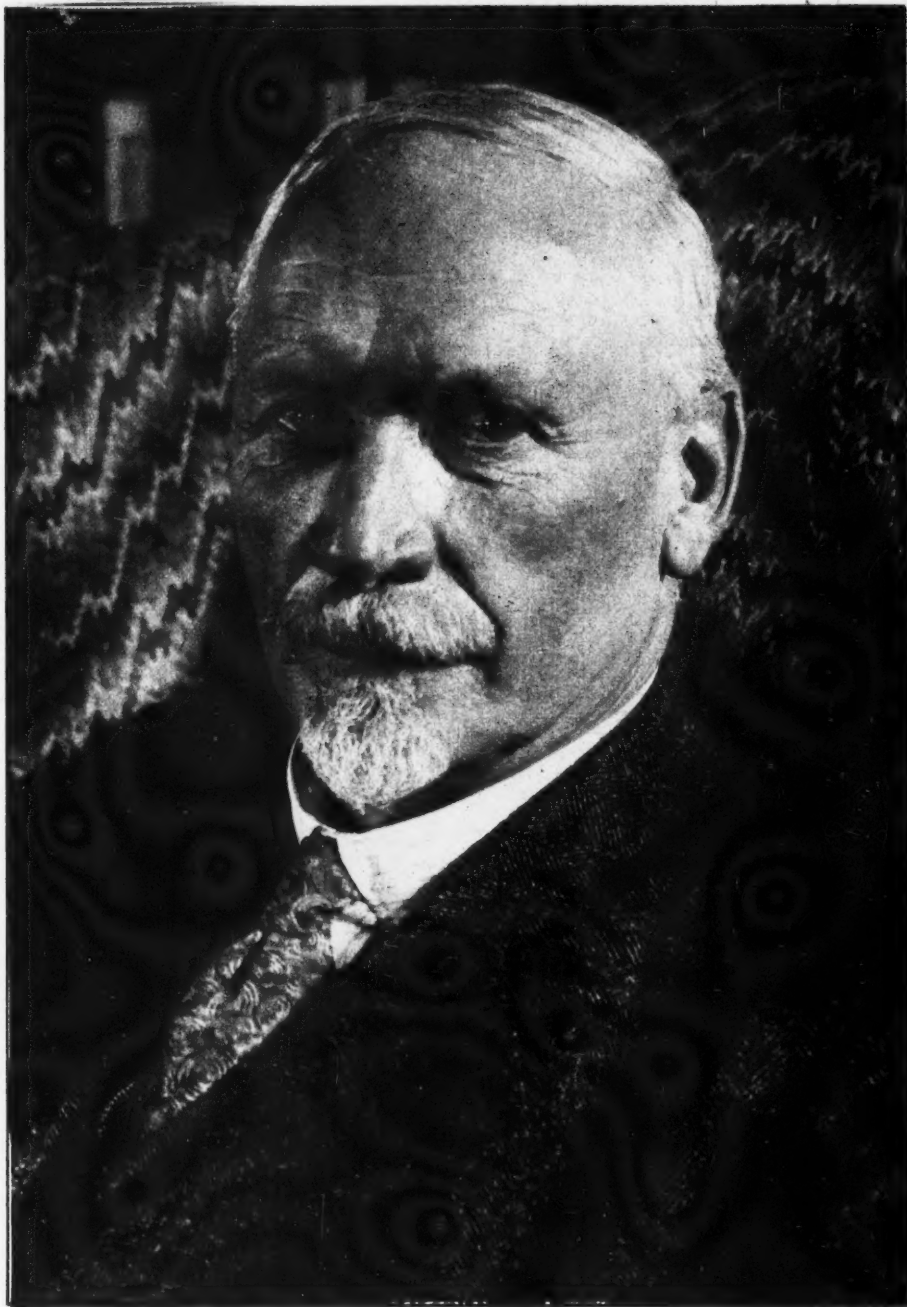


Times Wide World

THE POPE OUTSIDE VATICAN TERRITORY FOR THE FIRST TIME  
Pius XI praying before the high altar of the church of St. John Lateran during an early morning visit, his first excursion into Rome



A SOUTH AFRICAN STATESMAN IN AMERICA ·



GENERAL JAN CHRISTIAAN SMUTS

Times Wide World

Who came to these shores to participate in the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the League of Nations on Jan. 5. By nationality a Boer, he was one of the leaders in the war against the British and was subsequently Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa

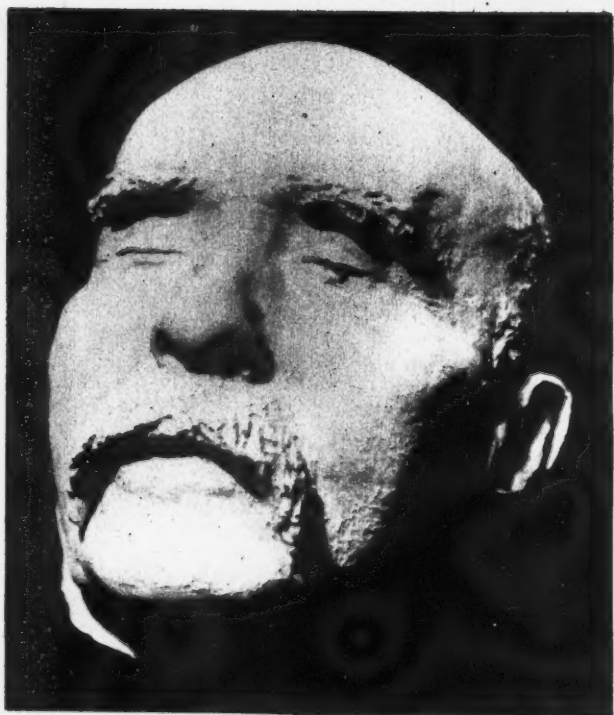
## CLEMENCEAU LAID TO REST



Times Wide World

### THE GRAVE OF THE FRENCH STATESMAN

On a hillside in his native Vendee Clemenceau was buried. A group of war veterans gathered to place a wreath on his grave at midnight by the light of torches

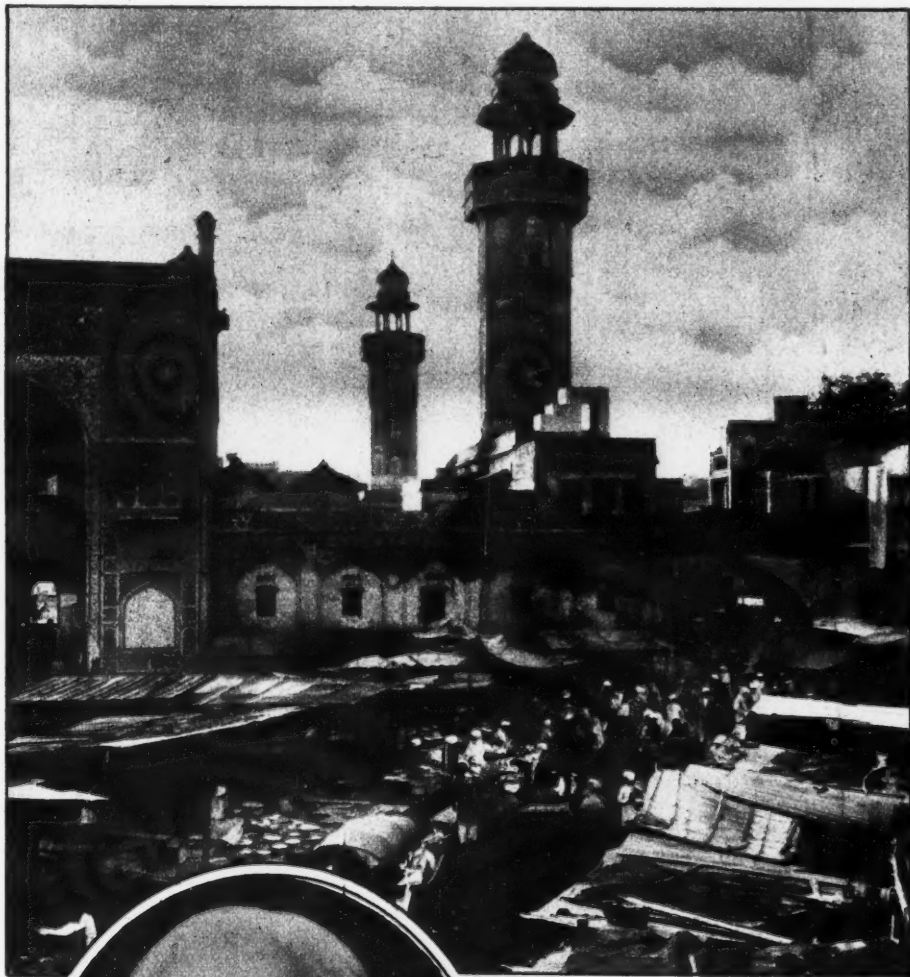


International

### CLEMENCEAU'S LAST PORTRAIT

A death mask, made by the French sculptor, Ricard

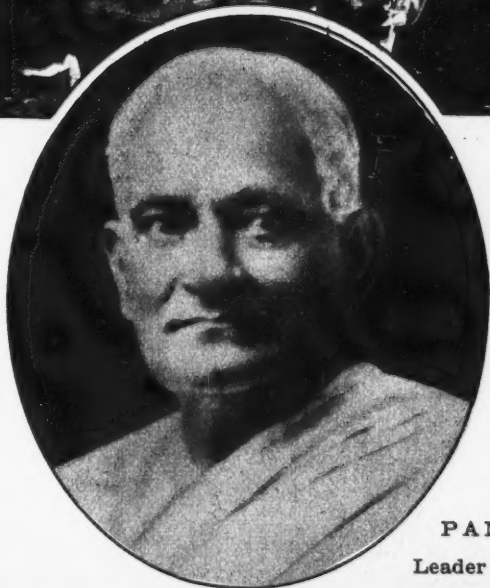
## THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS



Ewing Galloway

### LAHORE IN THE PUNJAB

The scene of the Congress of Indian Nationalists, which on Dec. 31 passed almost unanimously a resolution demanding complete independence of British rule



Acme

### PANDIT MOTI LAL NEHRU

Leader of the Home Rule (Swarajist) Party

THE PRESIDENT'S OFFICES ABLAZE



**FIGHTING TO SAVE PUBLIC DOCUMENTS**  
A fire which threatened to destroy the executive offices adjoining the White House broke out on Christmas Eve. Valuable public records were lost, but the President's private files were rescued by his aides

Times Wide World

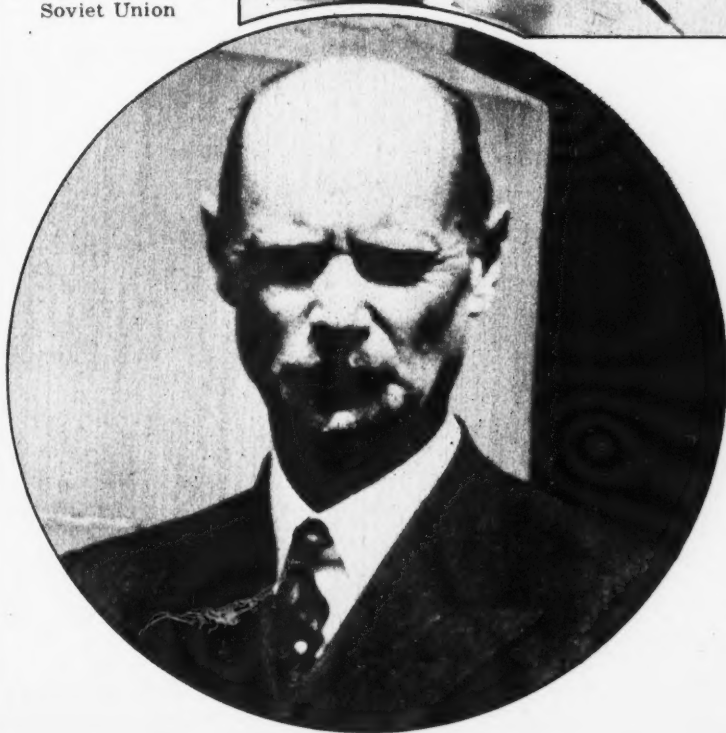


## THE BRITISH-SOVIET RAPPROCHEMENT



Times Wide World  
**GREGORIE  
SOKOLNI-  
KOFF**

The first Soviet  
Ambassador to  
London, who took  
office in Decem-  
ber after the  
MacDonald gov-  
ernment had re-  
sumed diplomatic  
relations with the  
Soviet Union



Underwood &  
Underwood

**SIR  
ESMOND  
OVEY**

Selected for the  
difficult task of  
representing the  
British Govern-  
ment at Mos-  
cow; he was for-  
merly British  
envoy to Mexico

UNITED STATES AMBASSADOR TO GERMANY



FREDERICK M. SACKETT

Harris & Ewing

The Senator from Kentucky, who was appointed to succeed Jacob Gould Schurman at Berlin

THE NEW SECRETARY OF WAR



Harris & Ewing

PATRICK J. HURLEY

Successor to the late James W. Good as head of the War Department. Mr. Hurley was Assistant Secretary of War

THE FORMER GERMAN EMPEROR



P. & A.

WILHELM II AT SEVENTY

This study of the former German Kaiser was made just a year ago on his seventieth birthday, at Doorn, Holland



# Current HISTORY

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## *The Kaiser Repudiates the Potsdam Conference "Legend"*

The former German Emperor's letter, printed below, was provoked by an article in November CURRENT HISTORY, written by the late Professor Raymond Turner, in which he presented further evidence to show that Baron von Wangenheim, the German Ambassador in Constantinople, made statements regarding a council at Potsdam on July 5, 1914, at which it is alleged the Kaiser determined on war. The Kaiser now flatly and unreservedly denies the truth of the statements made by Baron von Wangenheim and unequivocally declares that no such council was ever held. The death of Professor Turner on Dec. 31, 1929, occurred before he had an opportunity to comment on the letter. Former Ambassador Morgenthau declined to comment except to remark that the former Kaiser does not question his statement that Baron von Wangenheim made the remarks attributed to him by Mr. Morgenthau.—Editor, CURRENT HISTORY.

By T. ST. JOHN GAFFNEY

FORMER UNITED STATES CONSUL GENERAL AT DRESDEN AND MUNICH

IN THE NOVEMBER number of CURRENT HISTORY there appeared an article in which an attempt was made to revive the legend of the so-called "Potsdam Crown Council," supposed to have been held on July 5, 1914.

Former Ambassador Henry Morgenthau first sponsored this tale during October, 1917, and subsequently reproduced it at greater length in a volume called *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story*,

which was published in 1918. It is generally supposed that the graphic and grotesque account in that book of the proceedings of the "Crown Council" was based on the gossip which the Ambassador had heard in diplomatic circles in Constantinople during the hysterical period which followed the outbreak of the war.

This account was subjected to a devastating exposure by Professor S. B.

Fay in 1925, and since that time it has not been mentioned, except with ridicule, by responsible war historians. Mr. Morgenthau never spoke of the story during the lifetime of Von Wangenheim, his alleged informant, and more remarkable, he did not communicate this highly important news to the State Department, which it was his official duty to do. It was only after our entrance into the war that he sprung the weird tale on the American public, which at that time was in the mood to believe almost anything.

In order finally to get at the truth, I sent the November issue of CURRENT HISTORY to the Emperor, calling his attention to the article on the "Potsdam Council." By return post I received the following reply in his own handwriting:

DOORN, 20.XI.29.

My dear Mr. St. John Gaffney.

Your volume of "Current History" duly received. The *myth* of the "Potsdamer Kronrath" is it seems extremely difficult to exterminate. To at last get at the roots & causes of this *fabrication* I charged the Director of the Archives of my House last year with the task of discovering the sources of this Lie by a scientific searching investigation. It produced the following astounding results:

1) The first unclear version of a "Council" which was *supposed* to have been held in Potsdam was started by young officers in Berlin Restaurants already deep in their cups. Waiters paid by the Entente and Agents disguised as such played the eavesdroppers & reported half understood interjections as facts to the hostile Embassies.

2) *Fhrer v. Wangenheim* out of bravado & with the intention to dissuade Italy & the U. S. A. from joining the Entente against Germany took up this rumor & welded it into the fantastic instrument he intended for the *benefit* of his country, which turned out to its detriment!! I never saw him in those days—nor any of his colleagues by the way—in fact I so ignored his whereabouts at that time that I had to consult his widow as to his occupation when I cleared matters up.

Prof. Raymond Turner is in a hopeless muddle. Certainly *neither* Morgen-

thau nor Page nor Garroni *invented* the Fable of the "Potsdam Council" but they *propagated* it as an historical *true* fact. The Lie of the "Potsdam Crown-War-Council" was *concocted with all its exciting details by MY OWN!! Ambassador*, pretending to have attended the Council *personally*, to give more *probability* to his story! It is a vile, malevolent Lie without the slightest foundation of truth. No Chiefs of Army & Navy were present (Moltke "curing" at Carlsbad, Tirpitz in Baden). No Bankers, no Captains of Industry were assembled, no Ambassadors bidden to be present: all *Wangenheim's personal FICTION!* That was the result of Dr. Kurt Jagow's investigations, who published them about a year ago. The "Potsdam Crown Council" is a *Myth, a Lie, never took place*. "And there the matter rests." I hope you will impress upon Turner to recant his accusation against me!

Ever yours,

WILLIAM.

I. R.

It is apparent from the above that his Majesty is willing to accept Mr. Morgenthau's statement that he learned of the "Council" from Von Wangenheim, who unfortunately is dead and cannot explain matters. The benevolent attitude on the part of the Kaiser joined with the complete frankness and candor of his reply are characteristic of this greatly misunderstood man. I have, on more than one occasion, observed that in addition to his amiability the Emperor has a kindly nature even toward the relentless enemies who have been snapping at his heels and seeking to paint him as an enemy of mankind.

#### THE WAR GUILT COMMISSION

It is regrettable that Secretary Lansing and Dr. James Brown Scott, President Wilson's representatives on the Commission of Fifteen, in the report adjudging the Kaiser and the Imperial Government as solely guilty of causing the war, featured this bogus "Crown Council" as one of their convincing proofs. I trust, however, that after the clear and emphatic repudiation by the highest authority, this silly story will

Dorm 20. XI. 29

My dear Mrs. S. E. Sch. Gifford

Your volume of "Recent History" duly received. The thought of the Potsdam Conference is it seems to me extremely difficult to estimate.

To at last get at the roots & causes of this fabrication I changed the character of the business of my House last year with the task of discerning the sources of this lie by a scientific searching investigation. It produced the following outstanding results:

1) The first modern version of a "Council" which was supposed to have been held in Potsdam was started by young officers in Berlin. Documents already lay in their cups. Washington by the Centre & Agents disguised as such played the same game & reported half understood interrogations as facts to the local Embassies.

2) Felix Wengenheim out of Brussels & with the intention to discredit Italy & the U.S.A. from joining the Entente against Germany took up this version & added to it the fantastic instrument he intended for the benefit of his country, which turned out to its detriment. I never saw him in those days - more my of his colleagues by his side - in fact I recognized his whereabouts at that time.

that I had to consult his widow as to his occupation when I died matters up.

Prof. Raymond Turner is in a hopeless muddle.

Certainly neither Overmuth nor Sage nor Gerson awarded the title of the "Potsdam Council" but they propagated it as an historical true fact.

The line of the "Potsdam Council" - "Council" was connected with all its existing details by my own "Potsdam Council" pretending to have attended the Council.

It is only to give more probability to his story, it is a tale, independent of the whole the a list of

foundation of the tale. No circle of Army or Navy were present (with the exception of Ludwig Thurnwald & Braden). No Russian, no Captain of Industry were assembled, no Ambassador hidden to be present.

all Wengenheim's general fiction. That was the result of his first vague investigations, also indicated them about a year ago. The "Potsdam Council" is a myth, a lie, never took place. And thus the

whole, which I hope you will impress upon Turner to correct his accusation against me.

W. Gifford

not again figure in responsible American publications.

During last June I passed three days as the guest of the Kaiser at Haus Doorn. Twenty-three years had elapsed since I had the privilege of conversing with him. The former occasion was at a dinner in his Majesty's honor given at the American Embassy in Berlin in the Fall of 1905, by our Ambassador Charlemagne Tower.

It was not without some emotion on my part, that I was introduced into the presence of the Emperor shortly after my arrival at Haus Doorn. The last time I had spoken with him he was at the plenitude of his power, the most talked-of monarch in the world, and now he was living as an exile in a foreign land. His Majesty, who was in fine health and spirits, gave me a most cordial reception and appeared to be extremely pleased at my visit, particularly because after landing from the steamer I had hastened without delay to Doorn. I was quite surprised at his erect carriage and virile appearance. I could hardly realize that it was almost a quarter of a century since I had spoken with him and that a few months before he had passed his seventieth birthday. Naturally, his hair, which was still quite luxurious, had become gray, and the pointed beard he had grown, which, in my opinion, was quite becoming, had given his countenance a more serious cast. His fine eyes had retained their old sparkle and as he warmly shook my hand with some hearty words of welcome, I felt that his misfortunes had not diminished the qualities of a sovereign and cavalier, which had won the approval of all who met him. After being introduced to the members of his suite, coffee, cigars, cigarettes and liqueurs were served, the Emperor drinking orangeade, which is also his drink at meals. Shortly after 11 o'clock, his usual hour, he arose to retire and, shaking the hands of all present, he wished us good-night.

The following morning, after a brief religious service, conducted by the Kaiser, I had a long conversation with him on the existing international situation

and the war guilt question. He was quite enthusiastic over the progress of the Revisionist movement in America, and highly praised the works of Professors Burgess, Barnes, Fay, Langer, Cochran and Schevill, Judge Bausman, Senator Owen, A. J. Nock and Dr. John S. Ewart, the eminent Canadian international jurist.

He was particularly interested in the resolution of Senator Shipstead for a Congressional inquiry on the war guilt problem.\* He has confidence in the

\*Senator Shipstead's resolution, which was introduced in January, 1929, and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, reads as follows:

"Whereas Article 231 of the Treaty of Versailles declares as follows: 'The Allied and Associated Powers affirm, and Germany acknowledges, that Germany and its allies are guilty of having caused all losses and damages which the Allied and Associated Governments and their nations suffered in consequence of the war, which was forced upon them by Germany and its allies'; and

"Whereas said article was founded on a judicial opinion of the Entente Commission of Fifteen appointed by the victors on Jan. 25, 1919, 'to determine the responsibility of the war and punishment therefor'; and

"Whereas the American Government was a party to said judicial opinion, which was approved and signed by its two delegates on the said commission, namely, Robert Lansing, chairman of the commission, and James Brown Scott; and

"Whereas such a judgment, to have had any legal or moral authority, should have been pronounced by an impartial tribunal after careful study of the evidence and hearing both sides; and

"Whereas since the formation of the Treaty of Versailles abundance of testimony has appeared from the archives of the Allied as well as the Central Powers, and from other sources, showing that the said Article 231 was based on hysteria, hypocrisy and falsification 'forged in the fires of war'; and

"Whereas distinguished historians and statesmen of the United States, Great Britain, Canada, Italy, Russia, France and Serbia, as well as Germany and Austria, have declared that the evidence now available is sufficient to warrant a just and reasonable attitude on the part of the victors and a reconsideration of the judgment, which they allege was manifestly unjust, violative of judicial principles and legal procedure, and a grave obstacle to international understanding; and

"Whereas the establishment of the facts and the truth as to the origin of the war is vital to a reconciliation of the peoples of Europe and to their moral disarmament; therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the Committee on Foreign Relations of the



sense of justice of the American people when they know the truth, and hopes that this resolution will be approved by the Committee on Foreign Relations during the present session of Congress.

The punitive provisions of the Versailles Treaty and the false verdict of sole war guilt so arbitrarily passed upon Germanic Powers are, in the judgment of the Kaiser, the greatest impediment toward bridging over the gulf created by the war, and forming a true reconciliation between the defeated nations and their former enemies. He is convinced that so long as this verdict is recognized by the Entente Governments as justification for the punitive paragraphs, it is hopeless to expect that there will be a moral and spiritual disarmament of the 80,000,000 people of German blood who live in the Central States of Europe.

#### INJUSTICE OF TREATY

The injustice and fatuities of this treaty will be an unending source of irritation to the generations to come. They are too flagrant to be forgotten, the more particularly because they are in violation of the fourteen points upon which the Germans laid down their arms.

"The Versailles Treaty," said the Kaiser, "was built on the foundations of vengeance, fear, suspicion and hatred, and, therefore, must be revised before the different peace plans of the American Government can be of any ethical or practical value. Permanent peace can only be established on a

Senate and the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives are hereby authorized and directed (1) to hold an inquiry, either separately or jointly, for the purpose of determining whether in view of the new evidence and other official material the time is appropriate for the American Government, inspired by the sense of justice and fair play, to recommend to the Allied Powers either to amend Article 231 of the Treaty of Versailles without further delay or to announce severally their intention to disregard it or to propose to the Allied Powers that the question of the responsibility for the World War be submitted to a commission of neutrals, and (2) to report to the Congress the result of such inquiry on or before March 4, 1929."



The Kaiser and Mr. Gaffney in animated conversation between bouts of wood-chopping

basis of righteousness and by the elimination of those clauses in the treaty which are opposed to the truth, to common sense and international justice."

The Emperor feels keenly the calumnies and the deliberate misrepresentation to which he was subjected during the war and since its close. He is justly incensed at the shameful English propaganda directed against his person which caused suffering to the late Empress and in his opinion contributed to her death.

Writing recently to General W. H. H. Waters, who was chief of the British Mission attached to Russian Headquarters during the war and who recently was his guest at Doorn, the Kaiser does not mince his words. The Kaiser's letter to General Waters was an invitation to visit him at Doorn. In his invitation to General Waters the Kaiser in the opening paragraphs emphasized the numerous attempts

which had been made by the British Government before the outbreak of the war to secure Germany as an ally. He proceeds as follows (see *The Quarterly Review*, London, No. 502, October, 1929, pages 215-216):

I—instead of an ally—became the Archfiend, the Hun, Attila, etc.! & had to undergo an ordeal of lies, slanders, misrepresentations, venomous hostility, the like was never spent upon any ruler at the hands of Britain. And when she was on the verge of losing the unjust war she had for many years "engineered" against me & my country she lied America into the fight & bought the subversive parts of my people with money to rise against their ruler who for 4 years had kept German soil from the heel of the invader. And then after the Revolution had succeeded Britain showed her gratitude by *starving* the people she *bought* into submission by the "hungerblokade" after the war was ended!! I shall with pleasure look forward to your visit to Doorn, where I reside as an outcast by the vile intrigues of the British statesmen.

Although the myth of the Kaiser's "war guilt" has been long since exposed, some of his malignant enemies persist in repeating this lie throughout the world. He also bitterly resents the imputation that he left his country in the hour of her travail. Notwithstanding the official statements of Hindenburg, Ludendorff and the responsible authorities of the German general staff, this scandalous charge still appears and reappears in the yellow sheets of the Entente press.

It was not necessary for his Majesty to make any statement or explanation to me of his conduct at that tragic time. I was fully informed, as I had carefully studied all the literature both from friend and foe dealing with his departure, and I do not hesitate to say that the charge that William II abandoned his fatherland in the hour of need is the most infamous lie in the world's history.

#### REASON FOR ABDICATION

At the urgent request, indeed the command, of Hindenburg and Ludendorff, against his own protest and will,

he made the supreme sacrifice, not as a fugitive, but to relieve the country of the embarrassment which it was alleged his presence was causing. The Berlin Cabinet joined the general staff in quoting President Wilson as declaring that no satisfactory terms would be accorded Germany so long as the Kaiser was at the head of the government. "If the United States," said the American President, "and the Entente Allies deal with the military masters and monarchical autocrats of Germany at this time, the demand will be *surrender*. Peace negotiations are impossible with them."

The Kaiser was informed that his presence jeopardized the armistice negotiations, and if he went to Berlin, as was his intention, civil war would add to the misfortune of his distracted country. But he now fully realizes that it was President Wilson's declaration that he would not negotiate with the military and monarchical rulers of Germany that really sealed his fate. The Kaiser resents his sacrifice at the behest of his most formidable enemy, who afterward failed so dismally to carry out the professions he made to the new democratic Cabinet in Berlin. "They sold me," said the Kaiser, "but the German people did not get the price."

The Emperor submits to his destiny with dignity and fortitude. His conscience is clear and he is convinced that history will do him justice as the truth breaks through the clouds of falsehood, malice, prejudice and misrepresentation. "I look upon my fate," said he, "as a tribulation, as a trial imposed on me by God which I will bear as a Christian and a gentleman."

In conclusion, I desire to refute once and for all another scandalous canard that is a particular favorite with the Entente press; namely, that the Kaiser is rolling in luxury and splendor from a huge investment of \$100,000,000. This is an absolute falsehood. He is living modestly on an income that is about adequate to meet the expenses of his family, the upkeep of his unproductive German properties and the maintenance of his simple entourage at Doorn.

# *American Industry in Foreign Countries*

By LOUIS E. VAN NORMAN

FORMER COMMERCIAL ATTACHE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE IN EUROPE, NOW IN WASHINGTON AS SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE BUREAU OF FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES BUREAU OF COMMERCE

THE WAR was not the cause of the industrialization of all Western and some Eastern nations; it only hastened the tempo, for what has been operating is the natural economic evolution of mankind. With the industrial revolution now knocking insistently at all the doors of the old order in Asia, the ancient systems are doomed.

This amazing expansion of industry knows no bounds. Freed from some of the most oppressive restrictions imposed by the war, and incited by the material prosperity of the American people, Europe has taken long strides in the direction of building up new industries and developing old ones within her own boundaries as well as beginning to pour out her capital and expert skill into the so-called backward regions of the world for their modernization.

As to our own industrialization, it is interesting to note the judgment of the experts who prepared the report of the President's Committee on Recent Economic Changes. They say that "acceleration rather than change in the strict sense is the key to an understanding of our recent economic developments." "Speed and spread" have characterized our national life since 1922. During this period American business has developed and used inventive genius of fertility and wide scope. It has perfected manufacturing technique, solved the problem of mass production, and is moving toward economic standardization. It pays the highest

wages in the world, but at the same time it is able to turn out products at prices which permit competition in foreign markets. Europe is emulating us wherever possible, and even the Soviet leaders, while asserting that they despise the basic idea of our economic system, try their utmost to introduce into their country many of the factors which go to make up our industrial efficiency.

Europe is, in general, still suffering from a lack of balance in its economic structure. There is an excess of equipment and productive capacity. Because markets are restricted by new tariffs over new boundary lines, there are labor troubles. These are intensified by overpopulation. On the whole, there is a lack of complete adjustment between the old economic machinery and the new conditions. Price levels are still changing because old-time outlets for productive capacity have been cut off and industry has not yet quite accustomed itself to the restored stability of currencies. These questions are the bane of the statesman's life. Since 1918 the principal task of the Old World has been solving the puzzling business questions to which it had been supposed there were no answers.

The industrialization of Europe is a normal development, but the adoption of new methods of organization and mass production have become necessary to meet new conditions. To make up for the loss of large numbers on the battlefield it was necessary to substitute machinery for hand labor on a

large scale in some countries. At the same time, in others there is much unemployment. Finance ministers, so as to raise revenue, resort to every conceivable device to encourage industries which seem to afford taxpaying possibilities. The emergencies of the military campaigns call to life many new industrial activities and expand existing ones, which try to keep going indefinitely after the fighting has ceased. Many of these are inconsistent with, or at least out of proportion to, normal peace-time needs. Trade routes are thrown out of joint. Synthetic products are developed and, in some cases, prove more worthy of survival than the original article. Then there is always the appeal of "economic self-sufficiency."

Noteworthy among these new industries which have survived because they deserved to are the rayon (artificial silk) group, the chemical industries, the varied electrical equipment group and the iron and steel activities in France. The last, if not entirely new, has received new life from the union of ore and fuel resources by the transfer of territory from Germany. In a general way, the buying power of the great masses of the continent is better and this shows higher standards of living.

#### MIGRATION OF INDUSTRY

The migration of industry from one part of a country to another, in response to more favorable conditions of location, accessible power and cheap labor, is not a new phenomenon. It now has its larger counterpart in the migration of industry from one country to another. New machines, new methods and new ideas, new conditions of price, demand, labor, tariffs, make new locations desirable, and the movement thus started has begun to flow over international boundaries. We have American branch plants in foreign countries and a few branches of foreign industry in the United States. The expansion of American-owned and operated industry into foreign lands, though not exactly new, has acquired a new significance since 1914. It has been estimated

that there are now nearly 2,000 independent or branch American factories in foreign lands, approximately half of which are in Canada, and the number is growing every day.

What does this mean to the American people and the world at large? This question has begun to agitate economic leaders in the United States and has even engaged the attention of Congress. During its special session last Summer there was introduced into the tariff bill then under discussion a provision prohibiting the importation into the United States of goods with an American trade-mark (or made under American patents) but manufactured abroad. The branch factories or independent enterprises owned and operated by Americans in foreign lands include mining companies, sugar centrals, pulp forests, nitrate plants, jute consuming plants, hardware factories, automobile assembling plants, tractor factories, packing plants, textile mills, shoe factories and telephone equipment factories.

Those who see an evil portent in this development say it means that the United States, as the world's creditor nation, is becoming less and less its workshop and more and more its banking house, that American investors increasingly tend to lie back and take their interest in foreign lands while jobs for American workers at home grow scarce. It is pointed out that in shipping industrial machinery abroad to equip and modernize factories, even if American owned, in foreign countries, we are increasing their productivity and their power to compete with our own products, and that branch plants kill export trade. It is also pointed out that in some cases American interests have been forced to abandon their factories in foreign lands after having unwittingly established keen and dangerous competitors, to whom, because of legal complications, they are still compelled to furnish technical and other information. Nor must it be forgotten that these branches are of distinct benefit to the country in which they are located. They furnish employment



at high wages to native labor and use native products.

Those who believe that this development is an inevitable part of our economic evolution say that, owing to certain artificial restrictions in some foreign countries against American goods, the only way to do business profitably there is to establish factories in these countries. They also contend that the use of American-made machines to produce other American machines abroad makes foreigners want more of our goods, that it elevates their living standards, makes their wants multiply, and thus increases the total of our exports. "Every American factory abroad," it has been said, "tends to give the world more for less and thus adds to the sum total of the world's business."

\* \* \* Every American plant abroad immediately sets up new and more demands for American goods incidental to its operation or to the distribution or use of its goods." Canada, for example, is beginning to figure quite conspicuously as an exporter of automobiles, especially to other parts of the British Empire, where she enjoys "imperial preference" under the tariff. Most of the Canadian automobile factories, however, are owned by and operated with American capital. They are heavy consumers of supplies imported from the United States.

Because it is impossible to arrive at any definite decision as to whether branch plants are good or bad in the long run, the Department of Commerce in accordance with a Senate resolution, has been requested to prepare a comprehensive report on the subject.



Cartoon from *Simplicissimus*

#### MADE IN GERMANY FOR AMERICA

Merger: German labor—American capital. (A German view of America's industrial invasion)

The new world of industry that has emerged in the older continents is displaying an extraordinary appetite for the creations of American engineers and machine builders, with the result that we are sending abroad industrial equipment at the rate of just short of \$1,000,000 worth a working day. For the first nine months of 1929 the value of our exports of machinery (including industrial and agricultural as well as electrical appliances) was \$462,000,000, the largest item in the list of our exports for that period. This was probably the first time in our history that machinery overtook cotton and motor vehicles as an export. We ourselves absorb \$23 worth of new industrial machinery per capita per annum, to say nothing of agricultural and electrical equipment; the Chinese, about five cents worth. If China should become an industrial nation it would

offer an enormous field for the sale of machinery, much to the benefit of the American exporter as well as to the Chinese themselves by raising standards of living, increasing purchasing power and generally making their lives fuller and richer.

Though it is impossible to give in figures the value added by industry through machinery to raw materials, we know that in some of the young countries, such as Australia and Canada, the increase through industrial machinery since 1913 has been twofold. Our industrial machinery exports to Asia increased from \$7,000,000 to \$28,000,000 during the same period and exports to Latin America from \$26,000,000 to \$63,000,000. While our export trade during the past few years has profited to the extent of vastly increased sales of tobacco, motor vehicles and accessories, cosmetics and other luxuries, the large sale of American machinery abroad has had its drawbacks. By enabling other countries to make the same sort of product as we do, our shoe-making machinery, for example, has almost eliminated our shoe exports to several South-American countries. Our textile machinery has done the same, as far as textiles are concerned, in parts of Latin America and the Orient. In spite of this there seems to be very little prospect of any radical change in trade relations between the United States and these countries. Approximately 80 per cent of all Latin-American imports and a large proportion of those of the Orient from the United States are mass-produced commodities without rival as to price and quality. Moreover, we will probably continue to ship to these regions our specialties in fabricated goods.

These new world-wide needs and the ability to gratify them mean more trade, more commercial opportunities for the great exporting nations, often of a highly specialized kind, which do not in the least involve poaching upon the old trade preserves. This may be seen in the case of certain Latin-American countries, notably Venezuela and

Colombia, where our trade increased by 800 per cent since before the war. But British and German goods are also going there in large quantities, because the great natural resources of these countries are now being developed (one has only to mention coffee, petroleum, cocoa) and the people have much higher purchasing power. In the fiscal year 1926-27 we supplied 25 per cent of Australia's total imports, against 14 per cent before the war. This trade is made up almost entirely of distinctive American specialties, while British trade has gone on increasing also from \$184,000,000 in 1913 to \$282,000,000 in 1928. It is much the same throughout the whole Far East. In general, our fabricated wares, which must depend for their success in foreign markets on efficiency of production and salesmanship, have shown an extraordinary expansion during the past decade. Our shipments abroad of finished manufactures now show a nearly 300 per cent increase over the annual average of the five years just before the war.

#### OUR FOREIGN TRADE

There could be no better indication of the extent to which the whole world is being industrialized than the purchases of industrial machinery from the United States. We already supply 35 per cent of the exports of industrial machinery of the world. The figures below show the exports of industrial machinery from the United States to certain countries for the purpose of bringing out the increase between 1922, a low point, it is true, but a convenient starting place, and 1928:

#### EXPORTS OF AMERICAN INDUSTRIAL MACHINERY

	1922.	1928.
United Kingdom . . .	\$12,792,000	\$25,589,000
France . . . . .	4,716,000	8,792,000
Germany . . . . .	566,000	6,571,000
Italy . . . . .	559,000	2,683,000
Japan . . . . .	14,256,000	7,891,000
Argentina . . . . .	3,583,000	9,496,000

Our exports of industrial machinery to Japan present a special situation. In 1922 there was an exceptional reason for large imports. Since that time there has been an impetus in the do-

mestic manufacture of machinery. In spite of this, however, the machinery exports from the United States for the years 1926, 1927 and 1928 maintain approximately the same level. Moreover, these totals are greater than those to Germany and Italy, the figures being \$7,913,000, \$7,232,000 and \$7,891,000 respectively.

As to automobiles, an even more impressive array of totals (in round figures) appears:

#### EXPORTS OF AMERICAN PASSENGER AUTOMOBILES

	1922.	1928.	
United Kingdom .....	\$3,295,000	\$7,715,000	
France .....	377,000	3,390,000	
Germany .....	48,000	10,803,000	
Italy .....	133,000	2,054,000	
Japan .....	786,000	5,997,000	
Argentina .....	2,307,000	26,262,000	

The expansion of our exports of finished manufactures is also notable, as the following figures of only a few of the most prominent articles and commodities show:

#### EXPORTS OF CERTAIN FINISHED ARTICLES TO ALL COUNTRIES

	1922.	1928.	Per cent increase.
Rubber tires.....	\$20,700,000	\$38,600,000	86.2
Silk hosiery.....	3,400,000	9,700,000	186.7
Gasoline .....	126,800,000	232,000,000	82.9
Electrical machinery and apparatus, including radio sets..	53,300,000	89,000,000	66.9
Industrial machinery .....	129,900,000	226,600,000	74.5
Accounting and calculating machines and typewriters and parts.....	14,000,000	35,900,000	156.4
Agricultural machinery .....	26,100,000	116,700,000	347.6
Passenger automobile .....	51,000,000	263,600,000	416.3
Medicinal and pharmaceutical preparations ..	14,200,000	20,400,000	43.4
Paints and varnishes .....	6,200,000	13,300,000	114.6
Photographic goods .....	16,900,000	20,200,000	19.8
Musical instruments .....	8,700,000	18,100,000	108.1

These percentages of increase are still more impressive when price corrections are made. If we take the period 1923-25 as 100 per cent, then our export prices in 1928 equal 86 per cent and our import prices 74 per cent. The

figures when analyzed by continents are:

#### EXPORTS OF FINISHED MANUFACTURES TO CONTINENTS

	1922.	1928.	Per cent increase.
N. America	\$404,000,000	\$674,500,000	67.0
S. America	165,000,000	364,700,000	121.0
Europe ....	379,000,000	683,700,000	80.4
Asia .....	230,000,000	294,300,000	28.0
Oceania ...	79,000,000	146,100,000	84.9
Africa .....	35,000,000	96,700,000	176.3

Total ....\$1,292,000,000 \$2,260,000,000 74.9

Four main factors enter into the competition that Europe has been directing against us for a long time: (1) certain special advantages, such as cheap labor; (2) special aid to goods which are competitive with ours, such as subsidies, long credit terms; (3) curtailment of "unnecessary imports," or "luxury goods," to benefit trade balances; (4) actual restrictions against American goods, such as tariffs, contingent systems, and so-called imperial preference schemes. To these is now added the growth of the idea of a continental solidarity which would seem to be slowly taking the form of what Aristide Briand calls the "United States of Europe." This is not a dream of political but of economic unity. That there is a growing sense of solidarity cannot escape the notice of any traveler to Europe today. In a commercial sense at least, the people of the Old World are pretty much one big family, despite the national identities and national rights which they are determined to maintain. Nevertheless, we find commerce "steadily weaving endless ties of common interest for humanity."

#### "RATIONALIZATION" IN EUROPE

The most striking evidence of Europe's desire for community of economic interests includes, first of all, "Rationalization." Under this term an ever-lengthening list of business groups favor the organization of industry, in a systematic way, under some kind of unified control, which we have in mind when we speak of the three factors in our new business program—"standardization," "elimination of waste,"

"simplified practice" and, perhaps, mergers. Europe has adopted this idea not only in material and products but in "performance." Committees have been sent to study American methods and, as a result, changes, sometimes radical ones, are being instituted in mechanical, electric, and other lines. Scientific management institutions are springing up all over Europe. A list of these "rationalization" efforts, recently compiled by the United States Department of Commerce, showed that last year eighteen countries had organizations for this purpose.

As to the value of scientific management, there was no doubt in the minds of those who led the discussion at the Geneva Conference in 1927. While contending that it is the natural outgrowth of modern conditions all over the world, the report of the conference laid down the dictum that scientific management is "usually regarded as a characteristic feature of contemporary American civilization, because its development was facilitated by the rapid industrial growth of the United States and the relative scarcity of labor. The latter factor, involving improved machinery and high wages, compelled manufacturers to seek every possible means of bringing down the costs of production." For this situation there is no parallel in Europe. In fact, with millions unemployed, the use of labor-saving devices would only intensify the political and economic troubles. American machinery is finding a market in Europe because of its capacity to do other things than save labor and develop mass production, to do things better, and because it is a quality factor. Perhaps the greatest obstacle to "rationalization" and mass production in Europe has been the limitation of markets by tariff barriers. Hence at least one reason for the agitation for European union. Furthermore, the skill of the individual artisan is the outstanding feature of European production, and industrial leaders are not willing to sacrifice this asset by introducing American industrial standardization on a large scale.

Although Europe is by no means going down hill and although European trade and industries are not hovering on the verge of bankruptcy, as some people imagine, the Continent has not yet nearly recovered complete economic health. Some European governments even now are reluctant to abandon the wartime practices of close official control of commerce, through restrictions, limitations and monopolies. But this is being offset largely by the tendency toward mergers, combinations, cartels and other types of consolidated industrial effort. On the whole, industry is reviving and developing, and buying power is increasing to an astonishing extent.

International cartels, which are agreements or associations of producers or traders from two or more countries to control markets, regulate competition, and avoid tariff barriers, concern themselves with the extent of markets, production or output, price, sales and patents. European cartels have an annual output valued at more than \$5,000,000,000. They are the outgrowth of the general feeling that intense competition, with reckless price cutting, if not checked, spells ruin. The chief cartels deal with raw steel, rails, tubes, aluminum, enameled ware, rayon, copper, glass, silk and dyestuffs. Cartels give promise of more stabilized trade conditions, but they will bear close watching by our exporters. Earnest efforts are also being made to do away with the import and export restrictions that grew up out of the war and to simplify, if not reduce, tariffs.

#### EUROPEAN ECONOMIC UNION

The idea of a "United States of Europe" first took tangible form in the suggestion made to the League of Nations on Sept. 9, 1929, by Aristide Briand. The economic committee of the League four days later prepared a memorandum on his scheme, which it described as the "idea of a collective agreement to improve the organization of international economic relations in Europe." The memorandum referred to the "sudden eruption into the mar-



kets of European producers of American products displaying superior technique," and led the committee to inquire whether the methods hitherto followed, or even a complete return to pre-war conditions, could suffice to give once more to Europe (more subdivided than ever) the position and prosperity to which she believed herself entitled. Such an economic union would be a "powerful instrument for the maintenance of peace." The memorandum further stated that the producers and workers of Europe were asking themselves whether they were "really destined to remain always at a much lower standard of life than that of the producers and workers of the only country which can economically and intellectually rival Europe," adding that "it is in the raising of the standard of life, in the uninterrupted ascent of the classes, and in the multiplication of needs and of the means for satisfying them that lies the only possible hope for a durable economic revival of Europe." More people must be able to pay more, continues the memorandum. With the loss of two large foreign markets (Russia and China) and "with the United States placing increased high customs barriers in the way of European exports," it distinctly behooves the older Continent to "make some of its visions practical."

Referring to the United States, "a powerful economic unit which has adopted a highly protective policy," the memorandum said: "The American people are too generous to desire, on the basis of legal arguments, to place obstacles in the way of the recovery of Europe or to make it difficult for the European nations to do what the United States, thanks to their particularly fortunate history, were able to do long ago—to put their house in order. \* \* \* The American people, moreover, are too intelligent and too practical not to be aware that the recovery of the purchasing power of Europe would be of immense advantage to their export-

ters and not to foresee the possibility of establishing in future still closer commercial links than those which now exist with a European market of infinitely greater importance than those at the present time. \* \* \* Moreover, nothing would actually be changed for the United States in the present customs régime." Increased freedom of exchange, the committee thought, would increase revenue from fiscal duties and multiply articles on which consumption taxes might be levied, thereby compensating for loss of revenue from protective duties.

Do we desire the recovery of Europe? The experiences of the past few years show that it certainly means larger sales of American goods. We sell Europe every year over \$1,000,000,000 worth of our agricultural exports and just slightly under that sum in wholly and partly manufactured goods. This total makes up 46 per cent of all our goods shipped abroad. President Hoover, when Secretary of Commerce, pointed out that the livelihood of more than 2,400,000 American families depended on foreign trade.

The world's business is more international than ever. Investment is international; so is credit; so is the distribution of raw stuffs and finished products. Modern war kills business even though it occasionally breeds rank growths of temporary profiteering. The world is beginning to give up "commercial imperialism and exploitation" as well as cut-throat competition. The economic philosophy that insisted that no nation could win world markets except by ousting others has now been discredited. Let us recognize that our gains are to be made primarily by helping to strengthen the buying power of others largely through investment, improved standards of living, more suitable political conditions and an intensive development of raw materials.

# *Sea Power and Prosperity*

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IN THE MOVEMENT for an increased navy the most useful argument now available is the necessity of preparation for the defense of maritime rights. There is no urgent need for additional cruisers to protect American territory. Present naval, air and land forces provide a great margin of safety for the defense of the continental United States, the Canal Zone and a region in the Pacific as far west as the Hawaiian Islands. The burden of the movement for a larger fleet has accordingly fallen upon that historic slogan which is synonymous with the commercial liberty of the neutral, "Freedom of the Seas."

Navy men have contended, in the hope of attracting the support of powerful business groups, that the prosperity of this country depends upon keeping the seas open at all times for American commerce. The influence of this policy in naval strategy is of the highest importance. A capable exponent of the naval view, Rear Admiral W. L. Rodgers, has recently declared that "the principal diplomatic service of the American Navy will always be found in its support of neutrality and the neutral rights of commerce. This support is a fundamental policy which directs the shipbuilding program of the Navy Department, for the navy must be adequate to guard its commerce when other nations are at war." In Congress also the defense of commerce rather than of territory is strikingly emphasized. In the cruiser debates of January, 1929, Senator Borah expressed the importance of this phase of the subject when he said that "the moving, controlling question is how to protect

our commerce against the inroads of those who may be engaged in war."

There are, on the other hand, many students who sincerely and patriotically question the value of the neutral rights doctrine and the wisdom of a naval race to prepare for its defense. These doubts arise from the conviction that the doctrine has done considerably more harm than good to American commerce in the past and from the belief that a future world organization will take action against aggressor nations. If in such emergency an isolated country like the United States should strenuously assert its so-called neutral rights, that would amount to making common cause with an outlaw against the organized world, striking a blow at the international community and provoking friction—all very probably to the detriment of this country.

Let us cast aside the notion that the doctrine of neutral rights is based on abstract principle and a great moral urge. Disagreements between neutrals and belligerents in a system of private wars are inevitable, human nature being what it is. Have we not seen in a subsequent war a former neutral become a belligerent and a former belligerent become a neutral with a complete reversal of their previous contentions and indignations? However, the question we have now before us is whether the doctrine of neutral rights has been an aid to American economic interests and whether it is apt to promote such interests in the future.

Penetrating below the surface of official statements, the historian discovers that an active defense of neutral rights has not been commercially prof-

itable. A first glance at American experience would incline one to believe that in a great war the trade of the neutral nation is all but driven from the seas by the belligerents and that to avoid commercial ruin the neutral government must definitely assert its rights either by force or by vigorous diplomacy. Look again and we find that this destruction of neutral commerce is a myth and that, in fact, the United States as a neutral has prospered and its wealth has increased. But after still further examination we find that in the two major instances of American neutrality this prosperity has been a temporary illusion and that the neutral has been finally and inevitably drawn into the whirlpool of war, losing its gains and much wealth in addition. The very force which the neutral has exerted in the quarrels of others for the sake of its swollen profits or to avenge interference with them has brought about the destruction of those profits.

#### THE WAR OF 1812

When the war broke out between France and Great Britain in 1793 the young American nation was still suffering from the financial and commercial plight left behind by the Revolution. The country was heavily in debt. Merchants and shipowners complained that business was depressed by foreign restrictions against American trade. The Constitution had gone into operation, it is true, and Hamilton's financial reforms had been adopted, but only by placing heavy burdens upon the treasury. The war lasted with slight intermission from 1793 to 1815, American neutrality being terminated in 1812. This long period of neutrality appeared to the financial leaders in the harassed American Republic as one of material blessings. The statistics of those years indicate emphatically a boom era.

Lucrative opportunities were opened to American shipowners, and the insistent demand for ocean carriers was reflected in the expansion of the merchant marine. The total American ton-

nage, which had been 478,377 in 1790, was increased to 1,424,143 by 1810. The national shipping was then, as it is not now, an index of American prosperity. A computation in 1807 of the earning power of the merchant marine showed that the annual return amounted to much more than the value of the ships. George Cabot even estimated at one time that if only one vessel out of three escaped capture by the sea-scouring belligerents, the result would be a handsome profit. Fascinating stories of almost fabulous returns come out of this period. For instance, the Catherine of Boston, 281 tons, and worth possibly \$7,000, in 1809 made a net profit of \$115,000 in a single voyage. Despite the efforts of each belligerent to intercept the trade with its enemy, American shipping prospered exceedingly.

Imports and exports similarly increased. In 1792, the year before the outbreak of the war, American imports were valued at \$31,500,000 and exports at \$20,753,098. From these figures they gradually increased, until in the peak year of 1807 they amounted to \$138,500,000 and \$108,343,150, respectively. The increase was due mainly to four factors: the rise in prices, the large entrepôt trade resulting from the shortage in foreign shipping, the growth in the quantity of goods produced for foreign consumption, and the larger demand for imports which arose from the purchasing power of a prosperous people. The national finances also benefited remarkably. Customs duties, by far the largest source of governmental income, increased from \$3,443,000 in 1792 to \$16,363,000 in 1808. The national debt, which was \$80,000,000 in 1793, fell to \$45,000,000 by 1812, in spite of greatly increased expenditures, which included such an item as the \$15,000,000 paid to France for Louisiana.

The attempts by Great Britain and France to shut off the American trade with each other were strenuous and to a certain extent effective. Questionable blockades, the extension of contraband lists, impressments and, finally, seizures, which could be justified under no

doctrine of international law save that of reprisals, were resorted to. The United States attempted vigorously to combat these molestations. Diplomatic representations were only partially effective. An unofficial naval war, an embargo, non-intercourse and finally a declaration of war, were in turn employed.

#### A COSTLY WAR

The War of 1812 was begun allegedly to defend American trade against the illegal commercial restrictions of the British and as a protest against the impressment of American seamen. There was much in the conduct of both the French and the British to provoke the United States. But as an economic venture, inspired by the interests of the merchant marine, the war was a total failure. Neutrality, the goose that laid the golden egg of inflated commerce, was killed. The total imports and exports, which were maintained at \$115,557,236 during the fiscal year of 1812, had dwindled to the miserable sum of \$19,892,441 by 1814. The national debt rose from \$45,000,000 to \$123,000,000. That the war was not waged wisely or sympathetically in behalf of commerce is likewise indicated by the fact that the merchants who were engaged in foreign trade and whose private interests were at stake, were opposed to hostilities. The shipowners regarded the war as disastrous to their interests, and sentiment in the New England States inclined toward secession.

A century later the World War began, with the United States in a neutral position. American fortunes between July, 1914, and April, 1917, reproduced with some important variations this country's experience during the Napoleonic Wars. After a slight depression, due to the initial dislocation following the outbreak of hostilities, American products began to be in strong demand. Munitions and foodstuffs, in particular, were desperately needed by the belligerent nations. Nothing in history is comparable to the colossal requirements of this emergency. American production was stim-

ulated to an extraordinary degree. For the year ended June 30, 1914, exports from the United States were valued at \$2,364,579,148. For the year ended June 30, 1917 (which with an allowance of nearly three war months may serve to show the conditions of the last year of American neutrality) the figure was \$6,290,048,394. With the rise in prices allowed for, the exports of the last neutral year almost doubled those for the year before the war, while the so-called favorable trade balance increased five-fold. Exports of iron and steel and their manufactures, breadstuffs and chemicals were expanded tremendously. The explosives industry increased its exports from \$6,272,197 to \$802,789,437. Exports of firearms grew from \$3,442,297 to \$95,470,009.

In contrast to this amazing development of American business, the complaints of the State Department regarding the restrictions placed on commerce by both belligerents would suggest that illegitimate blockade methods and contraband lists were so oppressive that they well-nigh extinguished neutral traffic. It is not argued that there was the intention to convey this impression or that the complaints were not thoroughly justified, but such is the psychology of debate that continued emphasis on one's wrongs is apt to delude the complainant himself into the belief that his view is the whole truth. Apart from all questions of morals or legalism and from the strictly commercial viewpoint, the outstanding fact remains that American business was aided tremendously during the period of neutrality. Never had American commerce been conducted with such abandon and profit.

As time went on, however, neutral prosperity threatened to exhaust itself. Finance became a greater problem than could be handled by the allied exchequers. The huge surplus of American exports over imports had been balanced by a combination of methods. In round figures, \$1,000,000,000 in gold and \$2,000,000,000 in American securities had been sent to the United States from allied countries. This, in addition



to the earnings of European shipping and various other invisible debits, had not been sufficient. Borrowing had been resorted to. In 1915 a \$500,000,000 loan to Great Britain and France jointly had been floated by New York bankers. In 1916 France had borrowed \$100,000,000 more and Great Britain \$500,000,000. By these loans the international account had been substantially balanced, and at the end of 1916 the pound sterling was as high as \$4.75. But there came a time early in 1917 when the Allies had very nearly exhausted the means of payment. The stock of gold in Europe had been depleted, until further shipments had become dangerous to currencies. Furthermore, the transportation of gold was imperiled by submarines. Additional financing by the sale of American securities had become difficult. Credit was low. Large overdrafts had been made by Great Britain upon J. P. Morgan & Co., finally reaching \$400,000,000, before the United States entered the war. By March, 1917, it appeared that the Allies could only with great difficulty pay for their immense purchases and that such purchases must be drastically reduced unless new and unusual means of financing them could be found.

#### THE WORLD WAR

In a significant cablegram on March 5, 1917, Walter Hines Page, Ambassador to Great Britain, warned President Wilson that there was very serious danger of a credit collapse. Page stated that his inquiries showed that the situation was "most alarming to the financial and industrial outlook of the United States"; that it appeared as if the ability to finance purchases was being exhausted and that transatlantic trade would "practically come to an end," adding that "the result of such a stoppage will be a panic in the United States." In the last paragraph of this cablegram occurs the extraordinary sentence: "It is not improbable that the only way of maintaining our present pre-eminent trade position and averting a panic is by declaring war on Germany." After the United States en-

tered the war the now famous inter-allied loans were granted. This support from the strongest financial government in the world eased the credit situation and made it possible for the export of goods to continue. There was no panic, and to that extent the reasoning of Ambassador Page was clear enough.

For commercial and financial reasons the United States could hardly have entered the war in 1917 on the side of Germany and against the power controlling the seas. It is true that in 1812 this country declared war upon the mistress of the seas. Such action was highly detrimental to American trade, however, and was bitterly resented by the commercial classes. In 1917 the financial, industrial and commercial groups had not only grown enormously in strength but they had also gained in political influence at the expense of the agricultural faction. No government could have sacrificed their interests. Even a rumor of war against Great Britain would have meant a panic, and actual entry into war against that country would have spelled almost complete destruction of American foreign trade and loss of outstanding loans. And this would have been equally true if the United States Navy had been doubled in size.

The United States had then either to remain neutral or to join with Great Britain. But when the world is aflame it is difficult for a nation which is intimately connected with the struggle by commercial ties to stay out of the conflict. A thousand points of friction exist. Propagandists on both sides try to destroy the sentiment of neutrality. In 1917 there were strong commercial and financial interests anxious to see the allied cause prosper. Perhaps Mr. Page was not alone in feeling that war against Germany was the best way to avoid a financial panic. Add to this the moral indignation aroused by the excesses on both sides, the most striking depredations being the German submarine attacks which resulted in the destruction of commerce and the killing of American citizens. These excesses

were matched by Great Britain's less sensational but more methodical and deadly illegal blockade methods. All this aroused the fighting elements in the American people and inclined them to abandon their neutrality. But for economic reasons the pressure to bring the United States into the war could move the nation in only one direction, that is, against Germany.

#### COST OF THE LAST WAR

The war proved to be far more costly in the long run than had been anticipated. Profits of the neutral period were surrendered in the expense of preparing an army and navy. Even if not entirely accurate, President Coolidge's estimates (in his Armistice Day address of 1928) contain much substantial truth:

It is sometimes represented that this country made a profit out of the war. Nothing could be further from the truth. Up to the present time our own net war costs, after allowing for our foreign debt expectations, are about \$36,500,000,000. To retire the balance of our public debt will require about \$7,000,000,000 in interest. Our Veterans' Bureau and allied expenses are already running at over \$500,000,000 a year in meeting a solemn duty to the disabled and dependent. With what has been paid out and what is already apparent it is probable that our financial cost will run well toward \$100,000,000,000.

Despite the attempts of belligerent nations in Europe to shut off trade with their enemies, American commerce has increased tremendously during times of neutrality. With the world blazing in war, however, the temptation to be drawn into the quarrels of other nations has proved irresistible and the gains of neutrality have been destroyed. It seems to be a fallacy that American neutral prosperity can be maintained and promoted only by the building of a large navy to engage in war, if necessary, against a strong maritime power. Whatever else such a plan may be, it is distinctly not a business proposition. In addition to these lessons gleaned from the past there is

now the prospect of difficulty if this country should insist on trading freely with a nation which has been adjudged an outlaw by the organized international society. From these various considerations the following conclusions appear to follow:

1. The protection of American territory against possible invasion continues to be the most important function of the system of national defense. This fundamental purpose was stated by President Hoover on Armistice Day as follows: "I am for adequate preparedness as a guarantee that no foreign soldier shall ever step upon the soil of our country."

2. A sincere desire to safeguard American trade would inspire every effort to prevent wars and to strengthen the Kellogg Pact. The greatest protection to commerce is the maintenance of friendly relations throughout the world. Only in times of peace can the freedom of the seas be fully achieved.

The most practical method thus far suggested to reinforce the Kellogg Pact is the Capper resolution, which would make it unlawful to export articles for use in war to any country which, in the opinion of the President, has violated the pact. It likewise would withdraw the protection of the United States from American citizens who give aid and comfort to the offending nation. It cannot be too strongly recommended that Congress should take favorable action upon this resolution.

The Capper resolution would mark a wise change in policy toward the unprofitable doctrine of neutral rights, although in its present form the resolution would not be entirely adequate. It is possible that under it the President might differ from the League as to which of two warring nations is the offender. A greater possibility is that, acting for the United States separately, the President might be unwilling to apply the embargo because of the seriousness of the action. Such a grave question as denouncing a sovereign nation as an outlaw should be considered only in consultation with other great nations desirous of peace. The

Capper resolution suggests the negotiation of agreements with other governments pledging them not to protect their nationals in giving aid and comfort to a pact breaker. This would leave the matter to the individual judgment of the many signatories of the Kellogg Pact. It does not seem possible that so vital a decision would in practice be reached in that way. The need for co-operation at such a critical point is overwhelming.

#### DEALING WITH AGGRESSORS

For this reason American consultation with the League of Nations in dealing with questions of the violation of the Kellogg Pact would appear to be a wise precaution. In case of war the League Council could consider the questions, Has there been a violation of the pact, and, if so, which nation is the offender? (From the League standpoint there would also be the question of violation of Articles XII, XIII or XV of the covenant, but this need not concern us.) In considering breaches of the Kellogg Pact the United States, as the world's greatest maritime power not represented on the Council of the League, could be invited to participate in the deliberations. A joint decision thus reached could be enforced by the Council through League methods and by the United States in accordance with the Capper resolution. Such a combined decision would carry more weight

than the separate and perhaps conflicting actions of separate nations. It would avoid friction between the United States and the League. This enlarged conference would be less likely to shrink from determining the malefactor merely because of the gravity of that action. And, above all, any prospective aggressor, fearing that its conduct would be examined before such a formidable array of nations, would be more apt to refrain from a rash step.

National individualism and freedom of action offer no solution for the problem of war. For this reason President Hoover's suggestion (in his Armistice Day address) to give immunity to food ships, admirable as is its humanitarian spirit, points backward toward disorganization. Fear of conflict with the American doctrine of neutral rights has already done much to impede international progress and contributed to the failure of the Geneva protocol for arbitration, security and disarmament. It is only through the cooperation of the members of the international society that peace and freedom of the seas can be obtained. Why, then, should not the United States, seeking primarily its own commercial welfare, cooperate to end the era of international anarchy and war, in which the devil takes the foremost as well as the hindmost and in which disaster falls upon the neutral as well as upon the belligerent?

# Overhauling Our Diplomatic Machinery

By WILLIAM T. STONE

WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVE OF THE FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION

THE ADOPTION on May 24, 1924, of the Rogers act for the reorganization of the Foreign Service of the United States was hailed by the press and the public as a final solution of the ills confronting our foreign office and its undermanned field force. The new law abolished the old separation of the diplomatic and consular services in favor of a single unified Foreign Service; it perfected the career system to enlist young men of ability; it offered new opportunities for advancement and set a higher scale of salaries to permit appointment of officers without independent means.

Few will deny that the Rogers act made a start in the right direction, but equally few will maintain today that it finally solved the problems of the State Department. President Hoover and Secretary Stimson have been quick to recognize the inadequacy of the present organization. In requesting a material increase in the annual appropriations for the Department of State and the Foreign Service for the next fiscal year, the present administration has embarked on the first stage of what will probably be a thorough overhauling of the diplomatic machine.

At the outset the Rogers act did not reorganize the State Department. The staff of more than 600 officers and clerks reporting each day at the building on Pennsylvania Avenue has from time beyond memory been an integral part of the "executive establishment" in the District of Columbia. That is to say, the permanent State Department staff has been operating under one set

of regulations and under a salary scale governing all the other executive departments in Washington, while the Foreign Service has been governed by another set of rules and a higher salary scale.

The first question which has confronted each new Secretary of State has been how to attract men of ability at the low salaries provided by Congress. Secretaries Lansing, Hughes and Kellogg were all unable to solve the problem. During the war, when the burdens of the State Department doubled and trebled almost overnight, and officers of experience were urgently needed to carry on the day-to-day work, a valiant but futile attempt was made to draft new officers from outside. Men could not be found, and in desperation the department turned to the Foreign Service for experienced officers to take charge of the important political divisions on which the Secretary counts for expert advice. From missions and consulates throughout the world the ablest officers were called to Washington to fill temporarily the posts made necessary by increase of work. Half the responsible positions in the department were promptly filled by Foreign Service officers.

After the war the burdens carried by the State Department did not become lighter, but, if anything, heavier. The Foreign Service officers assigned for temporary duty could not be replaced, since funds were not available for new men, and competent experts were not to be found at the salaries offered. The perpetuation of this practice has



had several disadvantages, some of which were accentuated by the operation of the Rogers act.

#### LIMIT TO TEMPORARY APPOINTMENTS

First, the department in Washington has had to rely upon officers whose term of service is limited by a provision of the act which says that Foreign Service officers assigned temporarily to positions in Washington must return to their posts abroad within four years. This has resulted in endless changes of personnel in important positions where efficiency demands continuity. In fourteen years, for example, there have been no fewer than 55 chiefs for 8 important divisions in the department. On the day the Rogers act came into force some 52 Foreign Service officers were serving in Washington in responsible positions in the six geographical divisions, the office of the Economic Adviser and the various administrative sections. Within four years all these officers had been forced to return abroad, and by July 1, 1928, they had been replaced by some 52 new officers called in from the field. This large turnover, when coupled with the many resignations in the State Department force, has shocked more than one incoming Secretary. During this same four-year period no fewer than 23 of the 55 State Department officers in responsible positions resigned or left the service. In other words, only about 30 of the men serving in the department in 1924 were still serving in 1928—a turnover of approximately 73 per cent. And, as a rule, it was the best men who left.

The second serious disadvantage of assigning Foreign Service officers to positions in the department arises from the different salary schedules. When Foreign Service officers are detailed to the department they retain their grade and compensation. Since their salaries have a higher range than those in the department, they are paid considerably more than the permanent Washington officials doing the same kind of work. The result is often ludicrous. For example, there is at present the chief of

an important division receiving \$4,600 a year as a State Department officer, while his assistant, a Foreign Service officer of grade III, is receiving \$7,000. A couple of years ago, Nelson T. Johnson, the new Minister to China, was "promoted" to the position of Assistant Secretary of State. He was then a Foreign Service officer of Grade II, with a salary of \$8,000. To accept the "promotion" he was required to resign from the Foreign Service and go on the department payroll at \$7,500. The compensation for this position has since been raised to \$9,000 a year.

The general effect of the two salary scales is shown in the accompanying table:

State Department Officers (Professional Service)		
Year.	Number.	Average Salary.
1925.....	38	\$3,674
1926.....	47	3,731
1927.....	53	3,540
1928.....	58	3,888

Foreign Service Officers Detailed to Department		
Year.	Number.	Average Salary.
1925.....	60	5,075
1926.....	54	5,254
1927.....	51	5,441
1928.....	52	5,528

One product of this discrepancy has been a low morale among the State Department officers and employees, and a large number of resignations. During a single year no less than 23 per cent of the entire personnel resigned.

If the expedient of filling State Department posts with Foreign Service officers has temporarily postponed the department's troubles, it has only increased those of the field forces itself. In effect, the department has been robbing Peter to pay Paul. It has taken men from missions and consulates which had been understaffed since the war, and has left them without trained personnel. During 1928 the Foreign Service needed 122 additional Foreign Service officers for duty in the field; 31 consulates were in charge of clerks who had been commissioned as vice consuls simply because no career men were available, 13 consular offices were in charge of junior career vice consuls, men who had just passed their Foreign Service examinations and had had no previous experience; and 54 consular



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Secretary of State

officers had no vice consuls to assist them. Many consuls have testified that they have been forced to type their own dispatches to the department because they were not provided with clerical assistance.

#### MORE OFFICERS NEEDED ABROAD

The first effect of the increased appropriation granted to the State Department for the year ending June 30, 1931, therefore, is to provide funds for releasing most of the Foreign Service officers now in Washington. Yet, even if every available Foreign Service officer is sent to a foreign post, there is still need for more than 60 new career men in the field if the service is to be raised to a reasonably efficient level. The new funds permit the department, for the first time, to appoint men from outside to fill permanent positions in Washington left vacant by the Foreign Service officers.

If the experience of the past, however, is any criterion, the department

will not find it an easy task to secure the type of officer it needs for responsible positions and for chiefs of division. In addition to lack of funds, Secretary Stimson's predecessors have all faced other and equally vexing obstacles. The low salary scale has been one such obstacle. Men of ability without private means have not been attracted to the department except in relatively rare instances. The difference between the compensation offered by the government and that offered by the professions, and even the larger universities, has been too great to be overcome. Until a few years ago the highest salary allowed for a professional position in the State Department, such as a chief of division, was \$4,500.

Although two upward revisions have been made since 1923, the difference still persists. Under the Welch act, passed in 1928, chiefs of division now receive from \$4,600 to \$8,000; the solicitor, or chief legal adviser, \$8,500; the assistant secretaries and the under-secretary, \$9,000. But any first-rate solicitor for the State Department would be paid double or treble the present salary by private law firms in our larger cities, while men with the training and experience of chiefs of division are constantly open to flattering offers from banks and business firms.

The Secretary of State has been powerless to remedy this situation, because the scale of salaries in his department is limited by the general law governing all positions in the District of Columbia. State Department salaries can be improved only by revising the general law or by excluding them from the provisions of that law, thus placing the department personnel in a privileged position. Moreover, the Secretary of State cannot determine the final classification of positions in his department. While the salaries provided for the different grades are set by law, the allocation of all positions in the District of Columbia is in the hands of the Personnel Classification Board, an ex officio body composed of representatives of the Civil Service Commission,

the Bureau of the Budget, and the Bureau of Efficiency. This board has shown a surprising lack of both initiative and understanding of the basic principles governing classification of important positions. It has adopted no adequate list of specifications for systematic rating, and from its inception has resorted to the most arbitrary methods. The result is apparent in the State Department, where many responsible positions are obviously underclassified; for example, one which should by all common sense standards be classified in the highest grade at \$9,000 is fixed by the personnel board at \$5,000 or \$5,600. And the only appeal which the department can make under the law is to the personnel board itself!

#### THE CLERICAL STAFF

Still another difficulty arising from the present system of appointment is that the lower grades in the State Department are all filled from the Civil Service lists after competitive examination. These are the clerks, accountants and minor administrative officials numbering over 500. The requirements for these positions are necessarily low—the standards for routine jobs demanding only a high school education. Obviously, very few clerks thus appointed are qualified to advance to more responsible professional and executive positions which require, in addition to training and experience, a high degree of technical knowledge and a broad educational background. Though it is quite possible for a clerk of unusual ability to advance to the highest rank, the fact remains that the State Department has not been able to utilize its clerical force as a training school for its higher officers.

Under the Rogers act all appointments to the Foreign Service enter at the lowest grade, and are promoted on merit. Candidates are required to be college graduates, and must pass a competitive examination, both written and oral. On appointment and before being sent to the field every Foreign Service officer is assigned for a period of months to the State Department. Here

he undergoes a course of training in the Foreign Service School, and gains practical experience in the different divisions and bureaus.

The State Department service, however, has not been large enough to permit the operation of a similar system. In addition to nearly sixty other positions which logically might be included in the State Department professional service, but which have been filled by Foreign Service officers since 1924, for the reasons already explained, the number of professional positions listed on the department payroll has ranged from thirty-eight to fifty-five since the passage of the Rogers act. This number has not been large enough to admit even a small class of junior officers to the lower professional grades of the State Department service, in which they would be expected to advance to the higher grades. The few vacancies which have occurred during the past five years have all been filled by direct appointment of the Secretary of State, without formal Civil Service examination. The department has not resorted to the Civil Service lists largely because it believed that from that source it would not be able to secure the type of expert required. The Civil Service examinations are necessarily standardized, and the department has maintained that the commission could not test the qualifications they must insist upon in drafting officers. The officers in charge of a particular section or bureau have therefore, in consultation with the Under-Secretary and Assistant Secretaries, selected the men they thought best qualified to fill the particular vacancy. From July 1, 1924, to January, 1929, the State Department appointed twenty-nine drafting officers, and three assistant solicitors in this manner without competitive examination. The Civil Service Commission has not entirely approved of this, and efforts to introduce a more satisfactory arrangement for appointment of drafting officers have been made during the past few months.

With an additional \$2,000,000 at the disposal of the Secretary of State to be



Harris &amp; Ewing

The State, War and Navy Department Building in Washington

used for appointing new men from outside and for promotions within the service, if not for increases in the basic rate of pay, he will begin his task of reorganization next July with prospects of success brighter than those of his immediate predecessors, but it remains to be seen whether he will be able to make the organization in the State Department more efficient without further fundamental changes. Since the Rogers act there has been no serious effort to modernize the internal machinery of the department to meet new conditions.

#### PROPOSED UNIFIED SYSTEM

In the light of the past five years' experience, the conviction has grown that the State Department and the Foreign Service would function more effectively as a single or unified establishment. Most of the leading European countries employ this system. The British Foreign Office, for example, embraces three major services—the consular, the diplomatic and the Foreign Office proper. Young officers are appointed after examinations and sent abroad to gain experience in either a diplomatic or consular post; they are then available for further service either in the Foreign Office in London or important posts in

the field. There are no restrictions on the interchange of officers between London and the field, although after five or ten years' service abroad an officer is usually assigned more or less permanently to one branch or the other.

This system has been advocated for the United States. A recent study of four European foreign offices and the American State Department points out that "as a result of these tendencies [unified service, higher salaries and higher rank of important officials] the Foreign Ministers have the continuous assistance of a much more highly trained and experienced staff than the American Secretary of State." (Norton, Henry K., "Foreign Office Organization," American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1929.)

Several bills contemplating reorganization of the department and the Foreign Service have been before Congress in recent sessions. But none of these bills has completely covered the needs of the State Department and none has made provision for a unified service, although the one introduced by Congressman Stephen G. Porter of Pennsylvania ("A bill to provide for the reorganization of the Department of State and for other purposes," H. R. 13179), called for the creation of a



"Home Service" which would place the State Department staff on terms of equality with the Foreign Service.

If personnel and organization problems have presented difficulties during the past five years, the lack of adequate funds for expansion has been even more serious. The years immediately after the World War saw an unprecedented increase in the duties and the responsibilities of the State Department, for the United States had emerged as the world's greatest creditor nation, with new problems of foreign policy in almost every quarter of the globe. If there was ever a time when the facilities at the disposal of the Secretary of State should have been expanded it was between the years 1919 and 1925. Yet it was during these years when the country was returning to "normalcy" that the State Department was forced to reduce its operating expenses.

#### COST OF STATE DEPARTMENT

Not until 1929 was the State Department able to estimate for more than the barest necessities. From 1919 to 1929 appropriations for the State Department and the Foreign Service remained practically stationary. In 1919 the department proper was allowed \$1,143,000 and the Foreign Service \$8,804,000; in 1929 the State Department was granted \$1,464,000 and the Foreign Service \$9,396,000. During these same ten years the amounts paid to the United States Treasury in the form of consular fees and passport dues increased from a little over \$1,000,000 to more than \$10,000,000. In other words, the actual cost of operating what President Hoover has called "the great arm of our government dedicated to the organization of peace" declined to approximately \$1,000,000. When it is realized the cost of building a single modern cruiser, not to mention a battleship, is approximately \$17,500,000, the meagre appropriation for the cultiva-

tion of peaceful international relations is apparent.

A bare list of the ways in which the lack of adequate operating funds has hampered the State Department in recent years would fill many pages. In the department in Washington the building up of a strong permanent staff has been immeasurably retarded; it has been impossible to appoint additional officers, to establish new and much needed divisions or even to assure promotions to those whose work warranted advancement. In the Foreign Service the department has not been able to pay representation allowances to Ministers and Ambassadors; it has not been able to provide rent allowances for career men assigned to posts where the cost of living is excessive; it has not even been able to staff its consulates so that they might function efficiently.

Secretary Kellogg, in a strenuous effort to secure larger appropriations, informed Congress that the department and the Foreign Service could not function properly on the amounts allowed, and his preliminary estimates requested an immediate increase of more than \$2,500,000. This increase was rejected by the Bureau of the Budget, and consequently was not included in the budget for the year ending June 30, 1930.

Secretary Stimson has renewed the request of his predecessor, and inaugurated a new practice by appearing in person before the director of the Bureau of the Budget to explain his estimates. With the support and approval of President Hoover, a material increase amounting to more than \$2,000,000 was approved and sent to Congress. The new funds thus made available for 1931 will not make provision for all of the needs of the department and the Foreign Service; they will, however, meet the most urgent demands and make it possible to proceed with the first steps of reorganization.

# *The Menace of Mexican Immigration*

By REMSEN CRAWFORD

THE INFLUX of Mexican peons into the United States has become so serious a matter of national concern that the American Federation of Labor, the American Legion, the California Joint Immigration Committee, the Immigration Restriction League and other societies and organizations are urging that a halt be called without further delay. Complaints from the Southwest and more northerly and easterly States—since Mexican colonies are no longer confined to the border country—have been received by Senate and House committees on immigration, and during the present session of Congress it is not unlikely that action of some sort will be taken to deal with the situation.

This Mexican immigration rests on the false philosophy that it is needed to foster certain industries in the Southwest, in spite of the fact that Congress has had to appropriate \$500,000,000 to protect farmers against surplus crops and price shortages, in part due to the employment by farm corporations and land exploiters of cheap labor from Mexico. The cry for more peons to produce more overplus with its consequent shortage of price comes mainly from these pooled interests, or "chain farms," whose mass production with cheap labor is playing havoc with the small farmer. This, however, is merely the economic aspect of unrestricted Mexican immigration. Equally serious is the anomaly of leaving our southern border wide open while we are trying to preserve our "American stock" by the national origins plan.

Considerable progress has been made in late years in limiting immigration to our national economic needs. We are

holding Europeans to numerical allotment—just so many a year and no more. On our northern boundary, the Canadians, who are of our own white stock and on the same cultural plane, or those of them who live in Canada and work in the United States, have been placed upon an immigrant basis. The United States Supreme Court has ruled that the Jay Treaty never intended that British subjects looking for work could "pass and repass the border as persons in pursuit of trade and commerce." Canadian Indians are exempted because our northern boundary was cut through their land and they had at the time their own sovereign rights. But the number of Canadian Indians who avail themselves of this exemption every year is negligible. Thus, on every side of continental United States we have put up a barrier of some kind, except along the Mexican border.

Despite an abundance of evidence to show that we do not need Mexican immigrants anywhere in the United States, they are already crowding native white and colored laborers out of the Southwestern agricultural and industrial areas. Not stopping there, these Mexicans are forming colonies as far north as Pennsylvania. They are needed far more in Mexico, where the new government is offering every possible inducement to keep them there. Mexican officials have, moreover, lately shown a desire to cooperate with the American authorities in restricting the northward migration.

When the Chinese exclusion act was being considered some forty years ago Congress was told by incorporated industry that coolie labor was required to develop the West, just as Congress

is now told by the beet sugar industry, the railroads and the "chain cotton farms" that their interests will wane if cheap labor is stopped from Mexico. But the West has kept on developing, and no patriot can be found in America today who regrets the passage of the Chinese exclusion act.

#### MEXICANS IN THE CENSUS

For the first time in the history of the United States census it has been decided to count as a separate race the Mexicans in this country. Heretofore they have been simply recorded as "born in Mexico." Although the heads of the Census Bureau have not yet definitely settled all details, they have issued the following provisional instruction to enumerators: "If not definitely white, negro or Indian report all persons of Mexican birth or parentage as Mexican." The question will be not "Are you of Mexican-Indian ancestry?" but "Were you born in Mexico?" If the answer be "Yes," the enumerator will put him down as a Mexican by race, unless he is obviously of some other race.

The significance of this racial classification of Mexicans in our next census is obvious. A Mexican may be a white man of education and refinement and entirely desirable, but a Mexican with one-eighth Indian blood would be excludable under our existing laws as ineligible to citizenship, though this does not apply to native American Indians. This move on the part of the census officials indicates a full appreciation of the menace of Mexicanization and a desire on the part of the government to diagnose the case so that Congress may be able to prescribe the remedy.

If the remedy should be the quota plan, Mexican immigration would have to be limited to the percentage of "Mexican stock" in the United States based on the census of 1920, since the national origins plan has replaced the 2 per cent plan of the Johnson act. A bill calling for a Mexican immigrant quota under the old plan passed the House of Representatives late in the

last session, but failed to receive consideration in the Senate. Its author is former Judge John C. Box of Texas, a leading member of the House Immigration Committee and well known for his opposition to the influx of Mexicans into the Southwest. He now intends to revive his bill and change it to conform to the national origins plan, in the hope of having it enacted by the present Congress in time to begin the curtailment of Mexican immigration with the beginning of the next fiscal year on July 1, 1930.

The difficulty in computing the quota for Mexicans under the national origins plan arises from lack of information as to the number of persons of "Mexican stock" residing in the United States in 1920. The census of 1920 placed the number as "born in Mexico" at 486,418. It is known that Mexicans never entered the United States in considerable numbers until our European quotas began operating with no such limitations upon countries of the Western World. Then began a veritable Mexican invasion. Some 50,000 Mexicans were legally admitted to the United States and probably more than double that number gained surreptitious entry. It is a travesty upon our immigration laws that Mexico is now furnishing more immigrant labor to the United States than any country of Europe, many of them evading inspection, medical or otherwise.

If for convenience of the calculation we assume that persons of "Mexican stock" in the United States in 1920 numbered 1,000,000, the annual Mexican quota should be 1,428, plus a fraction, say 1,500.

While 1,500, or even 3,000, from Mexico would be a great drop from the 50,000 now admitted annually, most Americans would consider that quota ample, particularly since we are committed to a national policy of restricting immigration from all countries and not of encouraging it from any. At present we admit only 1,413 a year from Austria, whence have come many of our best scientists, artists and artisans. We allow only 1,181 from Den-

mark, 2,377 from Norway and 3,314 from Sweden, although the Scandinavian element has played a great part in making our Northwest what it is today—and without the Chinese coolie labor which we wisely excluded.

#### CONDITIONS IN THE SOUTHWEST

Let us survey the present condition in those portions of the Southwest which are included in Western Texas, Western Oklahoma, Western Kansas, Colorado and New Mexico, where development is proceeding with great rapidity. In the unirrigated plains regions of Texas and Oklahoma millions of acres of land formerly used as ranges for cattle and sheep and goats are being cultivated in cotton, mainly for non-resident landlords, by Mexican tenants, or hired workers, living in miserable shacks. In the irrigated valleys further west the same people are used largely in the making and gathering of the large crops of cotton grown in those sections, including the region south of the Elephant Butte Dam in New Mexico, which extends further down the Rio Grande into Texas. New cotton gin plants have sprung up everywhere. Old towns have greatly increased in size, and new ones have been built. The bulk of the work of making and gathering this cotton is done by Mexicans imported from over the border. As one gazes on these boundless fields one cannot help thinking of the need for agricultural relief because of the great surplus of cotton and other crops being produced. And yet the government, while expending vast sums in converting grazing areas into cotton lands, is at the same time permitting the importation of hundreds of thousands of alien Mexicans to enlarge this surplus on these same lands.

The small American farmer, who, with his family, lives and labors on his farm, cannot compete with Mexican peon labor cultivating rich, irrigated lands, which produce several times as much per acre as the land of Eastern or Middle Texas or of Georgia. Even in the high plains counties a poor peon can cultivate from three to five times

as much as can be cultivated by small farmers of the class and regions mentioned. While the population of the Southwest is being greatly increased, the greater portion of the increase is coming from Mexico, to the ultimate ruin of American agriculture, industrial enterprise and labor, and to the detriment of the country schools, churches, community life and political and racial characteristics of the native American people of those regions.

The problem is seen from another standpoint in the answers to a questionnaire sent out by Judge Box and Thomas A. Jenkins of Ohio, another member of the House Immigration Committee. These questionnaires were sent to several thousand persons, including local retail merchants or country storekeepers, to ascertain what effect the trade of Mexican laborers is having upon business; to town and country school teachers for their views on the influence of Mexican families in local educational institutions; to doctors and sanitation experts in regard to local health conditions as affected by the influx of so many Mexicans; and to judges of local courts in regard to the influence upon crime of the Mexican settlements.

The replies, some of them from as far north as Illinois, Michigan and Pennsylvania, indicate in the main a growing dread of the Mexican invasion. While there is some divergence of opinion about the need of Mexican cheap labor in various localities of the Southwest, there is almost perfect unanimity on the main point—that these people can never be assimilated with white Americans. The answers all show that the Mexicans work for less pay than even the native negroes whose places they are taking would demand, and for a wage no white person would accept. This is so in whatever industry the peons engage and in whatever locality they settle. Many of the native white and colored laborers have consequently left their home towns and neighborhoods and gone north or east in search of employment and wages more in accord with their standards of



living. Take this, for example, from El Paso, Texas: "There is a wage of \$1 and \$1.50 per day established here for most all kinds of common labor, and a white man cannot live on it and cannot compete with the Mexican under such conditions. So the native white's only chance is to move on to some other State where the Mexican is, as yet, not so much in the way."

On the question of crime there is likewise almost complete concurrence that the Mexicans commit more offenses against law and order, both petty and serious, than do the native whites or negroes. But some of the replies show that the offenses of the Mexicans are mainly of the minor sort, such as fights among themselves and petty larceny. Several merchants who answered said that "the Mexicans have to be watched while in the store to keep them from stealing something." With few exceptions, the replies on sanitation and health were to the effect that the Mexicans "are careless about cleanliness and seem to know absolutely nothing about modern sanitation as a safeguard against disease." Some of the doctors reported that many of the peons, who probably evaded medical inspection at the border by smuggling, have contagious diseases, mainly tuberculosis, and dangerous blood diseases. In many of the cities and towns where peons have congregated to a considerable extent, more than 50 per cent of the hospital cases for treatment at public expense are Mexican patients.

#### MEXICAN IMMIGRANTS' BIRTH-RATE

In regard to the birth-rate, it is generally reported the Mexicans are multiplying two or three times faster than are the native Americans. A member of the City Government of El Paso, Texas, for example, reports that during July, 1918, there were 71 American and 306 Mexican children born, adding: "Our increase in population is mostly Mexican. The total population of the city is 117,000, and 70,000 of that is Mexican. The children of the Mexicans who came here from 1912 to

1917 have not entered the laboring field as yet, and conditions are going to be much worse for native workers when they do, as our schools are giving them an education, and Mexican girls, coming out of school now or quitting school when they reach the age of 15 and starting to work, are displacing our American girls." The same informant wrote: "We have an epidemic of smallpox in this city now, originating with the Mexicans, and it spread among them to a great extent before the health authorities could stop it." Less than twenty years ago, he says, there were only 15,000 Mexicans in El Paso, as against the 70,000 known to be there now, with the result that, though those born in Mexico "do not give us much trouble in politics, the American-born politician of Mexican parentage can almost deliver the vote to one faction or another, which creates a very bad condition. The Mexicans have been the deciding faction in lots of elections in this county."

The Mexican population of San Bernardino County, Cal., is estimated by the local citizen who answered the questionnaire as being from a quarter to a third of the total population. Mexicans with large families live in small, unsanitary shacks and their standard of living is much lower than that of the whites. The increase in school attendance of Mexican children in 1928 over 1927, the same report says, was 16 per cent. and of white children was 12 per cent. It concludes with this comment: "Doctors inform us that there is not a time when the Mexicans are free from smallpox. Mexicans do not know what sanitation means. There have been cases of Mexicans with leprosy deported from this county. In the schools baths are provided for Mexican children and bathing is compulsory, being strictly enforced by the teachers." Mexicans play no part in county politics, as "they are not interested in public affairs."

From Tucson and Pima County, Ariz., a real estate dealer and school teacher contributed this very pointed reply to the questionnaire: "We have a

great many Mexicans here and they have come to stay. Very few go back. Probably thousands have come from Mexico in recent years, and many have been born here in the last twenty years; 75 per cent of them are minors, too young to work; 10 per cent are engaged as good, reliable, cheap laborers; 15 per cent are engaged periodically at odd jobs, then go pilfering, loafing; only 5 per cent are merchants, tradesmen, artisans. Mexican laborers get about one-half the wages Americans demand. This has cut wages hereabouts from 1 to 50 per cent. There are plenty of Americans to take care of all labor in this county, without using immigrants, if the wages paid were equivalent to wages for similar work in other parts of the United States, where the general run of citizens are employed, but, as one of my friends, a prominent mining official of this county, says, 'We are naturally selfish enough to employ peon labor, because it not only increases our profits but you can treat them in any manner and not be bothered with lawsuits, reformers and social uplifters. We handle them about the same as we do our other work stock.' Their housing conditions are about one-half the grade of our American workers, and their cost of living about one-half as much. Mexicans have already gone far toward completely displacing native farm workers and tenants. They have lowered the standards of educational work and increased its cost. Their presence in a settlement lowers real estate values—kills otherwise nice communities. They are more given to crime, both petty and serious. They burden our charities far beyond the amount justified by their numbers. They live in filth, and no neighborhood can be sanitary with them as residents. Their women and girls are displacing American women and girls to the same extent as in the case of men. There are some marriages between whites and Mexicans, more between negroes and Mexicans by law and several times this number by common-law marriage. They intermarry with other foreign races

more than with Americans. Although a majority of whites object strongly, Mexican children attend the same schools. As to race troubles, there will probably be occasional quarrels, but in time they will intermarry until there will be no white race. Only selfish American interests desire Mexican immigration."

#### OPINIONS FROM TEXAS

There were naturally some replies to the questionnaire which did not agree with the opinion of the majority. For instance, a farmer at Lockhart, Caldwell County, Texas, expressed himself very positively against further encroachments of Mexican peon labor, while a local doctor wrote: "We cannot do without Mexicans here; wish we had more of them and fewer negroes." The farmer said that many schools are being closed for lack of pupils; the doctor, that Mexicans "make more schools." The farmer reported that the Mexicans are "very decidedly displacing native American farm workers and tenants. There is little opportunity for white people to rent black land, or even mixed lands. As a result, our young men and women are leaving farm life and drifting into the cities for employment. There is nothing left for them on the farm." The doctor, however, held that conditions are about the same since the Mexicans came and contended that there are no peons among them. The farmer declared that the trend will bring ultimate ruin to that locality, both to the land and to the white inhabitants, and concluded with these gloomy forebodings: "The way the Mexicans are increasing, because the big land-owners and those who have any land to rent at all prefer them rather than whites as renters—from the fact that they work cheaper and are willing as tenants to pay more of the crops or higher rents—is fast driving us to where our own boys and girls must either be peons like many in the Old World, or else have a general uprising and rebellion which will wake our people and cause them to see that money is not the only

consideration. The State and nation cannot afford this unless they are willing to crumble and decay as have the nations of Europe and Asia. I hope something may be done in time to prevent the impending disaster, which seems to me inevitable." This farmer is not alone in presenting such views to Congress. Many other citizens of the Southwest, many of them cotton farmers, made similar reports.

#### IN THE NORTHERN STATES

The reaction to Mexican immigration in the more northerly States should also be noted. A reply from a track foreman on a railroad at Erie, Pa., where there is a colony of about 100 Mexican workers, states that they went there during a labor boom, that they leave in times of labor reductions, that the wages paid them are the same as are paid to white workers, that they have displaced no native laborers, and that only three out of the 100 brought their families with them. This report gives the Mexicans a clean bill of health and says their standards of living are about the same as those of native whites. A very different report came from a member of the Central Trades Council at Joliet, Ill., where there are about 150 Mexican families, living in the cheapest quarters. They are described as being packed into small lodgings, unsanitary in their surroundings, many of them having tuberculosis and requiring much of the attention of the public health authorities. Most of them work in the steel industry or do railroad track work or other common labor for the railroads at 30 or 40 cents an hour, as compared to 50 or 65 cents an hour which is paid to organized common labor. From as far north as Adrian, Mich., came a report by a member of the grange that there are 200 Mexicans employed as laborers in the sugar-beet fields and factories, but that they do not displace any native workers. This writer thinks it would be impossible to

get white workers to do the kind of work done by the Mexicans, who have poor housing conditions and lower educational standards. A doctor in Ford County, Kan., in which Dodge City is located, reported: "The Mexicans here are a fine thing for our women's clubs, which find a field of work. Looking after the Mexicans keeps them busy, and is about all they find to do here. We have several cases of tuberculosis in our Mexican colony which have to be cared for at the county's expense. Various clubs conduct night schools to amuse the Mexicans. Inter-marriage with whites is uncommon, but Mexican boys have been the cause of several white girls being sent to reform school. The Mexicans do not wish to become Americans, have no ambition to rise in the world, are a very low grade of labor, add nothing to our country, and even the railroads and other big interests which employ them would be better off without them."

Before the House Committee on Immigration the arguments of the fruit-growers of California and the beet-sugar producers of several States against excluding Mexican cheap labor have often been heard. But Congressman Box has received many reports from areas where these industries dominate to the effect that there would be ample labor if the native Americans or other white foreigners were not driven out by the influx of Mexican peons. One such report came from a very intelligent woman living in Santa Clara County, Cal., where there are more than 5,000 Mexicans. She rates this labor as inferior to all others, and says emphatically that when Mexicans become numerous in any locality the Americans leave. Replying to the query, "What are the indications, if any, of a race question between the whites and the Mexicans?" she writes: "It is becoming more serious with the rapid increase of Mexicans. These Mexican peons can never be assimilated with white Americans."

# *Climatic Influences in the Caribbean*

The two articles printed below discuss the question as to what effect race and climate have on the peoples inhabiting the tropical regions of the Caribbean. Captain Baker, an American naval officer who has long resided in our American tropics, declares that as a result of the enervating climate the Caribbean peoples represent an inferior type of civilization and thereby constitute an obstacle to orderly government. In the second article, Mr. Thompson, who also writes from first-hand knowledge, takes the view that the introduction of modern machinery and methods is largely overcoming the obstacles of race and climate and that a new era of progress is opening in the Caribbean.—Editor, CURRENT HISTORY.

## I

By *CECIL SHERMAN BAKER*

CAPTAIN, UNITED STATES NAVY

TO STUDY the tropics and its peoples but superficially is to note the differences separating their kindly, courteous inhabitants from the energetic, vivid peoples who live in more invigorating climates. The tremendous vitalities of the northern civilizations are not so apparent between the Tropics of Cancer and Capricorn. It will occasion no surprise, therefore, to find these marked variations in energy, industry and social efficiency between nations in the various zones of climate. Delve but a little more into their histories and their surroundings and one readily concludes that these differences can never be entirely eliminated. From that conclusion it is easy to believe that without a very considerable and persistent infiltration of blood from northern climes the people of the tropics will continue to enjoy standards of government, democracy and efficiency which are likely from time to time to disturb the orderly processes of life and business which the United States is so anxious

shall exist among her neighbors to the south.

The emergence of any tropical nation with restricted possibilities for the physical enrichment of its individuals into a country of great wealth commanding unlimited possibilities for social efficiency and education can hardly be effected by those permanently living in climates where conditions of life are easiest and where energy is not a *sine qua non* of existence. The philosophic Benjamin Kidd in his thought-provoking book, *Control of the Tropics*, summarized the differences between natives of torrid and of temperate zones when he wrote: "For a clearer insight into the laws that have shaped the course of human evolution must bring us to see that the process which has gradually developed the energy, enterprise and social efficiency of the race northward, and which has less richly endowed in this respect peoples inhabiting the regions where the conditions of life are easiest, is no passing accident or the result of cir-



cumstances changeable at will, but part of the cosmic order of things which we have no power to alter."

It is no accident that the skin of the native of Central Africa has become black, living as he has under the terrible rays of a pitiless sun for countless generations. Neither is it unusual that the climatic and geographical conditions under which the Nordic grew and prospered should have made him whiter than the inhabitants of warmer countries. Is it singular that the influence of climate so marked upon our exteriors should have left also a less permanent mark upon our mental, moral and physical characteristics? The struggle for existence which our forebears carried on for so many centuries in northern latitudes, their short Summers and restricted days for growing and harvesting their crops, the long and sometimes bitter Winters, developed foresight, hardihood, courage, persistence and cooperation. Without these sterling characteristics their existence was doomed. Human nature rose to the occasion and conquered. Nature had to be coaxed and controlled that man's existence in the temperate zone could continue and that the necessities for livelihood could be obtained.

Contrast with that the situation of

the natives of the tropics. Persistent warmth and abundant rainfall result in an ever-growing crop of cocoanuts, bananas, oranges and other fruits whose presence in the native stomach allays much of his desire for food and whose possession frequently requires no aptitude or cooperation beyond that necessary to remove it from the tree. Nature's generosity and the profusion of her gifts have, near the Equator, rendered needless any great effort by mankind to secure sustenance. The manifest order of things is unvarying. On one hand nature, through the insistent drawing power of the sun's rays, has rendered the native generally incapable of sustained effort. Then, lest he starve, the warm and salubrious climate encourages the rapid growth of fruits, vegetables and cane, upon which he so largely subsists. To those long held under the gentle bondage of the tropics a ban has been imposed, a ban which in effect decrees perpetual subservience.

Science has shown that energy, health and civilization all bear a close relationship to climate; and that zones of persistent heat with slight variations develop lower manifestations of civilization than those so generally to be found in certain parts of the temper-



The Caribbean and the countries bordering on it

ate zones. The stimulation of an invigorating climate averaging between 40 and 60 degrees with variations in heat and cold, clear and cloudy days, has developed the most advanced types of all civilizations known to history. In marked contrast to the invigorating influences of certain temperate climates is that where white men work and live in the tropics. Experiments show that people kept all day in temperatures of about 75 degrees have a pulse twenty beats per minute faster than at 68 degrees. Under these conditions so common in the torrid zones, the blood must circulate faster through the lungs and skin in order that increased evaporation will prevent the temperature of the blood from rising too high.

A white man from a colder clime, where he and his forebears have toiled for generations, when transplanted to the tropics, lives under a continual strain. It is not to be wondered at that prolonged existence there without systematic visits to invigorating countries spells the ruin of the white men. Men-

tally, morally and physically, he shows the strain. Manifestations come at an early stage. Vigorous and determined upon arrival and bent upon great performance, he soon feels that the usual work and exercise to which he has long been accustomed in temperate zones is not possible under the balmy breezes and in a listless climate. This gradual but never-wavering application of this pitiless force which so soon enervates the men and women from the North is the same force which has been at work for centuries upon mankind near the Equator. It is not difficult therefore to agree with Kidd and others that under the exhausting and enervating conditions found in the tropics man from the temperate zone loses energy.

During our revolution many loyal British left the colonies, some to take residence in Canada, others in the Bahamas. In their descendants are to be found vast differences in character. In Canada they grew, prospered, and built a stable and efficient government.



Ewing Galloway

A Sunday dress parade in St. Croix, the Virgin Islands



Ewing Galloway

Market day in Guadeloupe, one of the Lesser Antilles

In the Bahamas their descendants now present a larger percentage of "poor whites" than in any other Anglo-Saxon community. Huntington says that the average white farmer in the Bahamas is scarcely better than the native. Here again is a marked retrogression of the race where it has fallen into unsuitable climatic environments. The distinguished author of *Climate and Civilization* lays no little stress upon the observation that natives of the tropics are dull in thought and slow in action, and that the presence of an inferior race in large numbers tends constantly to lower standards of the dominant race. And to those of us who steadfastly and good humoredly maintain our belief in the rapid amelioration of the peoples in the Caribbean one may be permitted to make the cautious observation that their contact with Europeans for over 400 years affords little ground for optimism. Of this there is left no room for reasonable doubt by those whose observations and studies afford them the necessary perspective.

A careful perusal of Lothrop Stoddard's *French Revolution in Santo Domingo* will give the reader, as nothing else can, an illuminating picture of progress in Haiti under European control, the many evidences of decay in French character, their sudden tempers, their gradual loss of will power, their increasing listlessness and growing immorality, and lastly their noteworthy brutality—all characteristics common in the torrid zone. The reverse of the picture is equally striking. From populous and fabulously wealthy plantations, fine towns and splendid harbors there arose suddenly, like a magnificent tropical hurricane, the revolt of the slaves, led by Dessalines and Christophe, who, aided by yellow fever, swept the French from the island.

Freed of the hated French and deprived of the white man's ingenuity and ability, the cane fields and coffee plantations were left to the sympathetic hand of nature. Slaves no longer and tasting a freedom they had won and never hitherto experienced, they

fell back upon the luxuriousness of a tropical climate for their comfort, housing and daily food. The unrelenting hand of nature in its kindest mood thereupon lulled them to economic sleep. From this they were unable to emerge unaided. Along with the freedom of the races of the Caribbean, oppressed by French, British, Danes and Dutch, came an era of political self-government, where the experiments in limited democracy proved of little value.

#### WHITE MAN'S IDEALISM

The occasional idealism of the white man, spurred by the determination of the native population in the other Caribbean colonies, gave to their subjects in these tropical islands measures of democratic government which by temperament, education and heredity they were not capable to assume. To quote that leading authority on governments of the British West Indies, Hume Wrong: "Indeed for any one to have supposed, as Lord Grey apparently did, that responsible government could have met with success in the West Indies savors of the abstract faith in the virtue of political institutions in themselves without regard for the social background. No social contrast could be greater than that between Canada and Jamaica, within the one a virile and politically minded population and in the other a handful of white oligarchs, a smaller number of colored demagogues and a huge black residuum in a state of complete political inertia."

Great Britain's recognition of this has resulted in a form of government known as a Crown Colony, in which many if not most of the legislatures are appointed by the Crown. The Jamaica Rebellion of 1865 with its murder and swift retaliation brought Great Britain to a sudden realization of her mistakes, and she then took away from that island all the independence her legislature had hitherto enjoyed. Generally speaking, West Indian legislatures, thanks to the age-old influence of climate upon them, had, according to Henry Taylor, neither the will nor

the skill to make such laws as the European wanted made; and they could not be converted on the point of willingness and they would not be instructed.

Three hundred years of experimentation in governmental machinery in many of the Caribbean islands still finds the Governor in control. For there a good Governor with a sympathetic heart is of more value than a good legal code. The wise employment of laws by such an official frequently offsets faults in his administration. In Caribbean America the native looks up to authority wisely employed and firmly administered. If there be no respect for law as such there is respect for authority. This is the rich political soil in which dictators grow and flourish.

In islands where there exists a black residuum, varying between 94 and 98 per cent of the population, you will find British Crown Colonies with their nominated legislatures, such as Jamaica and the numerous lesser Antilles, Haiti with her nominated Council of State, and the American Virgin Islands, with a partially nominated legislature, but with full veto power vested in the Governor. Like it or not, the present systems are successful. At no time in the history of these tempestuous islands has there been such tranquillity and so much orderliness as now reign.

Those who have been subjected to the fascination of Lafcadio Hearn's *Two Years in the West Indies* will recall the abysmal superstitions of the natives in one of the great islands of the West Indies. In very recent years their local policies have caused them to attempt the assassination of two successive Governors, one of whom was crippled for life.

The devastating hurricanes of 1924 and 1928 found many natives without food or shelter. Numbers of them squabbled about the size and quantity of relief given them, while many more were too lazy to get the wood, roofing and nails offered them. In many instances their native indolence took the form of selling to others the materials



they needed for their destroyed habitations. To my wife I am indebted for the following: An islander had been induced to erect a silo. Some years later his opinion was asked concerning it. He agreed it was a fine silo, but it was never used. Pressed for a reason, he ingenuously replied that the grass grew only in the wet season, and in the dry season there was no grass to put in the silo. Such improvidence is not, however, confined to the West Indies. Similar climatic inheritance can as

in one island could be met by the supply in the other. The government agreed to furnish the steamer transportation. After considerable effort there were secured the promises of sixty men to go to the cane fields, the transportation to be free. On the morning set for the embarkation of this force of indigent laborers only one man appeared. In great state and at no small expense he was carried to the island and taken to the largest plantation, where he refused to work in the



Ewing Galloway

A wharf at Port au Prince, Haiti

easily be found elsewhere in the tropics.

The sugar planters of one of the Antilles were in great need of labor, for which they were willing to pay good wages. The government on a near-by island had reliable information of the names of approximately 200 men who sorely needed work. These men had one by one made application for employment. The official in charge of employment, little used to native indifference to employment in the sun, had the white man's belief that the demand

fields, deeming an office job his proper employment. And the government brought him back.

A certain elected legislator in the West Indies, black as ebony, a school teacher, a musician, and an occasional thorn in the flesh of the government, upbraided the Colonial Secretary because the lawmaker had received no reply to his letter to the President of the United States asking for a loan of \$10,000,000 to build a bridge which would span the five-mile stretch between an island of 10,000 inhabitants

and 150 automobiles with another of 900 inhabitants and no vehicles whatsoever. It was some time before he could diplomatically be prevailed upon to see the error of his ways. Then with a sudden and unusual humor from him, he said: "Well, every man must have his *pons asinorum* (asses' bridge)."

Characteristics of a racial nature underlie all of these anecdotes. They must be taken with sympathy and with understanding.

The influences which molded the races of the Caribbean are far from those which made the progressive and capable native of Great Britain, France, Germany or of the United States and Canada.

It would be difficult to find places more fascinating than St. Croix, with its compelling historical background and the history of its many sugar estates with their romantic names, Whim, Envy, Jealousy, Hope, Wheel of Fortune, Profit, Upper Love, Prosperity and Adventure. And yet it was of this same island that a Danish Governor, disgusted and worn out with the petty attitude of his colonial council, wrote feelingly to his king that governing the colonies was like a lion's den with all the footsteps leading in.

Since the early days of the eighteenth century, the pages of history have been liberally sprinkled with the disputes between the governors and the legislatures of the West Indies. It is an almost unbroken tale of the white governor with his heritage of a high civilization, extending back many centuries, endeavoring to raise the legislative and native standards to some level approximating that of the race from which he received his inheritance. Wrong aptly says: "Though arguments in favor of democracy may be used with justice against Crown Government (that is where the legislative bodies are totally nominated), its only possible defense is that in these communities democracy is impossible and that a truer representation of all classes is reached through the judicious appointment of the legislature by

an outside and independent authority than by the votes of an ignorant and uninterested electorate. When that condition can be shown to exist no longer, the continuance of such a form of government cannot be justified." Like it or not, the present government in Haiti is a most satisfying contrast to the tempestuous vagaries which for a century that island had enjoyed. Charles Evans Hughes, speaking of Haiti, asserted that "in general the beneficial results appear quite clear to the impartial observer." Nor is there lacking in the Caribbean approval of our friendly assistance to the people of Haiti, and of Nicaragua, whose problem, similar in most of its details, varies only in degree.

In this picture can be found only too readily all the elements of the tragedy of the tropics. If Dame Nature there has made the natives kindly and considerate, and has imbued them with some notably fine characteristics, she has also placed upon them an influence from which they cannot hope, unaided, in their environment, to escape. Generous with her gifts, kindly in her manifestations, placing in their laps the gifts they need for their daily sustenance, Nature takes her toll in ruthless fashion. For from these peoples, long subjected to her enthralling tropical sway, she has removed their initiative, their determination, their will to succeed, their spirit of cooperation—in fact, all the characteristics which she has bred in those inhabiting more invigorating surroundings. Tragedy it is indeed.

The conclusion, though regrettable, is none the less inescapable. Incapable of self-government along lines acceptable to us, subjected almost inevitably to the brutalities and excesses of recurring revolutions, taught by nature and by heredity that a strong arm with a wise head is at least as good as a constitution, the native of the Caribbean has a long road to travel. While he enjoys the ease and loveliness of his tropic habitat, that road cannot be trod without the white man's help. To place his feet upon it, adequate gui-

dance should be at hand. Otherwise he must remove himself from his present influences and journey to a land of hard work, stable government and competition. Under the molding and beneficial influences of a temperate zone his eventual freedom from his past can easily be won. No matter where he travels, the influence of his environment and the climate are irresistible.

This brings us to another inevitable conclusion. If this country is committed to the strategy of an isthmian route through Central America, if it is committed to the maintenance of orderly neighbors flanking the sides and approaches to that waterway, and if it refuses to tolerate national disorderliness in these countries, often tempera-

mentally unable to maintain stability of government, then we must face these conditions. These conditions are largely the result of climate and geography, which we have not the power to change. Our national sense of idealism will from time to time demand the withdrawal of our friendly, armed, though well-intentioned hand. The benefits conferred by the presence of a small restraining force of responsible armed men have too often been shown to be disregarded. History is a series of recurrent precedents. If these be found to solve such problems, shall we not say that their recurrence is both natural and wise? Another tragedy of the tropics, if tragedy it be, is that history will over and over again repeat itself in Caribbean America.

## II

By WALLACE THOMPSON

AUTHOR OF *The People of Mexico* AND *Rainbow Countries of Central America*;  
EDITOR, *Ingenieria Internacional*

FOUR HIGHLY important factors have played a part in creating the always changing and, in recent years, ever improving civilization of the tropical regions of the globe. No one factor is predominant, although from time to time one rises far above the others in its influence on the trend of a given period in society, government and economic development in the tropics. The oldest of these factors is climate. Next, perhaps, race, which in part is unquestionably a product of climatic influences, but which, in most of its elements, stands mighty and alone. The third, there has been political and economic strategy, the reachings out of governments for control of certain regions (for the cutting of certain tropical canals, for instance), or of governments and commerce, working together for the control of sources of raw materials, or of commerce, on its own, seeking favored regions for the planting of rubber or bananas, or for the establishment of vast sugar or to-

bacco factories. The fourth factor is newer and, perhaps, at this moment of history, the most powerful of them all—machines. The mechanical age, with science and sanitation at its hand, and its tools that multiply human power and save human labor, is today revolutionizing life and prosperity in the tropical regions of the world, and nowhere more thoroughly or more significantly for their own civilization than in the Caribbean regions, the American tropics.

Civilization is a changing standard, especially in relation to the tropics. In the days when climate alone ruled, and the white man looked on the tropics either as a field for exploitation or as a "trust for civilization" (that is, the civilization of Europe), the tropics were given a definite place as a supplier of raw materials to advanced nations. This was civilization for them, under that old English code of economics that declared, without debate, that the highest form of human endeavor



The Gatun Locks, Panama Canal

or was for each country to devote itself to the production of those products in which it had comparative advantage, and that there should be free exchange of all products. The English economic code of free trade fastened upon the tropics of the world (those 5,000,000 square miles of potentially productive area) the plantation system, the one-crop system that chained Cuba to sugar and the Caribbean lands to coffee and bananas, and the tragic philosophy that they must be a part of the European civilized world, and must stand or fall by its standards of civilization and progress.

By those standards, the livability of the tropics was for the white man of Northern Europe the only criterion. He found, in those days, that he could not live there successfully, certainly not without much adaptation that he would not make. He found that the ease and indolence of the tropics was degenerating, that the foods that grew, ready to eat, on the trees were productive of laziness, and that the backwardness of government was a climatological phenomenon. But he overlooked many other things about the tropics and its climate. He overlooked, for instance, the tremendous fact of the exuberance of tropical vegetation. He did not see how that bitter enemy, the jungle, turned man back again and again upon

his own single powers, snatching from his poor accumulations of civilization, overrunning his cornfield with sod that his crooked stick of a plough would not cut, drowning his clearings in jungle in a single rainy season, snatching back even his roads of stone as they sank into its swamps. He did not see all this, or if he did, he counted half of it the effect of the debilitating climate on the human elements with which he worked. He found the direct rays of the sun, even in the highlands, and the unbroken balminess of the climate there (with the difference in temperature between night and day greater than that between Summer and Winter) conducive to laziness and languor. But he found some discrepancies in the results of his theories. He found white men in Costa Rica, pure-blooded Spaniards transplanted to highland tropics, working as peasantry for three centuries, and thriving and maintaining vigor and energy unimpaired. He saw, in lowland hot countries, the descendants of Spanish colonists, after three centuries of ease and debilitating life in the tropics, rising in rebellion and waging great wars, proving their mettle and their energy against fresh troops from Europe.

Then he turned to race as the solution. Climate was rejected wholesale, and unjustly rejected. It was a question of North European and South Euro-

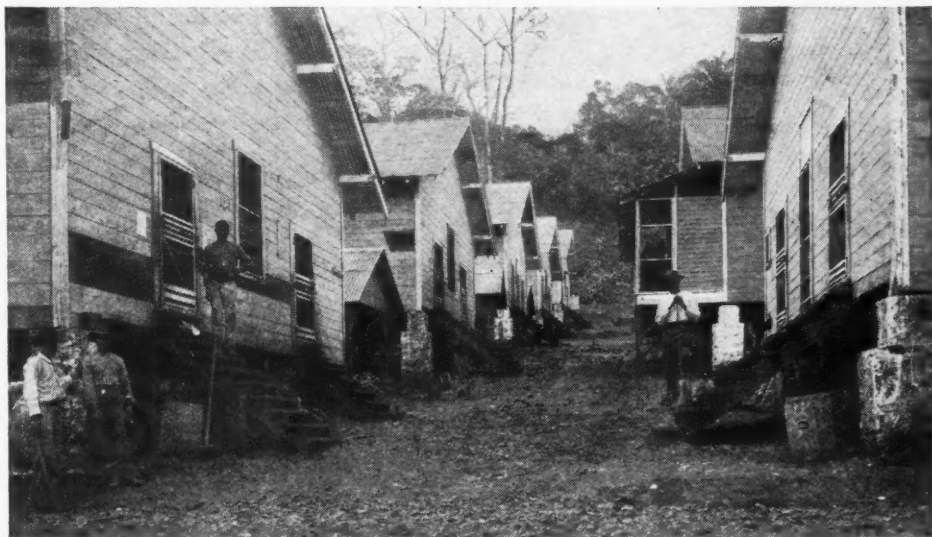


pean, with the colored races far down the scale. The ineptitude of tropical peoples was in large part racial, and their lack of sound government, their graft and cruelty, their inability to grasp the European values of wealth and labor, were interpreted as factors primarily of race. He made a strong case, and strong it remains to this day, with the ever-growing threat of the negro racial mixtures in tropical America, in particular, menacing the structure of government and the cultural standards of Spaniard and North European alike. But slowly conditions have changed, and new facts have come to light. Revolutionary governments of a century ago have, here and there, developed sound modern democracies, and through the worst of them has shone one almost universal ray of light. Everywhere in the American tropics, in the old Spanish colonies, the municipal governments have been sound, effective, relatively honest. And men have learned that in the days of Spanish rule the only part that the creoles, or native-born whites, could take in government was in the municipalities, that there they learned the problems and principles of government, and that, through revolution and disaster, the

town governments have kept on, and kept the light of civilization burning. So it was not all race.

Political and economic strategy also comes into the picture. Spain's strategy, destructive to local initiative, cast a blight of centuries over its tropical colonies. Britain's strategy, more economic, in the nineteenth century cast the blight of the free-trade system and the one-crop plantation idea over the tropical regions of the world, and more particularly over the American tropics, regions which were ripest for the doctrine, because they were seeking, a hundred years ago, so pitifully for a place in the modern world from which they had been shut off for so long.

The political and economic strategy of the United States has had and is having a tremendous effect on the tropical regions around the Caribbean. Our determination to have peaceful and prosperous neighbors, who will invite no trouble for themselves (or us) from Europe or from Asia, has put us in the rôle of seeking to hasten the growth of lands and peoples struggling up the long ladder of democracy. Sometimes our very eagerness to help has confused them, and made it seem that we must do more, when perhaps we should do



Quarters built for the laborers on the Panama Canal

less. But, as in every phase of the influences acting on tropical civilization, the good ultimately outweighs the evil. The political and economic strategy which dictated the creation of the Panama Canal, and which is responsible for the project of the Nicaraguan Canal, now about to be constructed, has had highly significant results in the tropics. The Panama Canal was largely built by negroes from the West Indies. It was designed and directed by transplanted Anglo-Saxons. Climate was conquered, and the pestilential scourges which, years before, had exacted a toll of lives equal in number, tradition says, to the ties of the right of way in the construction of the Panama Railway, and which, in the time of the French company, had decimated its workers and driven its engineers back in defeat, were eradicated. Mechanical shovels were put to work; dredges and construction railways were harnessed, and a vast part of the grueling work of human hands was thus eliminated. The jungle was turned back, its diseases and its vegetation conquered, and for the first time in tropical history the gains of one dry season were carried over to the next, and the battle won, forever.

#### EFFECT OF MACHINERY

So the mechanical age came to bring its gifts and to prove its power, its power to make the tropics livable and conquerable, for men of every race and in the face of every climate. The canal stands today at the gateway of the tropics, and its lessons stand before every nation there. Today machines are making the tropics habitable and productive, and giving wealth and prosperity to their inhabitants, and the work is hardly begun. Mechanical tools, from steam ditchers and shovels to mechanical loading devices, make the banana

industry profitable to the native worker as well as to the foreign corporation; more mechanical appliances are used in loading banana ships in Central America than the labor unions will allow to be used in unloading them in New York. Modern road-building machinery is creating highways of earth and concrete that last through rainy seasons where roads never lasted before, and are bringing peoples together and making good government possible because police power is given motor cars—and wings. Modern agricultural machinery cuts the tough sod that routed one of the greatest of ancient civilizations, that of the Mayas of Central America, and it seems destined to turn the tropics into gardens productive not alone for the temperate zone but for the dwellers in the tropics themselves. A single machine, the device that makes ice with a motor, a set of pipes and a cheap chemical, has literally revolutionized the tropics in the recent past, and has given the Anglo-Saxon something besides a lukewarm whisky and soda as a reminder of home. Refrigeration now provides decent food for white man and dark man as well, and cans bring him milk, butter and vegetables that were never at his hand before. Before many months have passed he will have refrigerated rooms and artificially cooled motion picture houses. The list is endless, but through all runs a single illuminating theme: Machines have begun to make and seemed destined to make increasingly for the elimination of the factors which in the tropics have routed man's efforts to develop these regions for the benefit of their own peoples, and to make them truly the gardens of ease and comfort and prosperity that they seem to be, but which, in the past, they have been for so few of those whose lives have been cast there, by chance or by choice.

# *Haiti Under American Control*

By A. C. MILLSPAUGH

FINANCIAL ADVISER AND GENERAL RECEIVER OF HAITI, 1927-29

IN PRESIDENT HOOVER'S regular message to Congress on Dec. 3, 1929, he recommended the appointment of a commission to review and study the situation in Haiti. Even before the dispatch of his message, however, there was manifest unrest in the occupied republic, which culminated during the first ten days of December in widespread rioting, employment of force by the marines, a call from the American High Commissioner for more marines, and a special message from the President to Congress requesting immediate authority for the appointment of a commission of investigation.

These occurrences served to bring into sharp focus certain significant features of the situation, and they present convincing confirmation of the President's view that our Haitian problem is one of extreme difficulty and complexity to which appropriate methods of solution have not yet been applied.

We intervened in Haiti in 1915, when chronic disorder, recurring revolutions and flagrant corruption had made the country an intolerable international nuisance. In order to do a fairly thorough job, we obtained a treaty and a new Constitution. Under the treaty of 1915, as subsequently supplemented and interpreted, we have set up an elaborate organization, which directs the administration of finance, public health, the constabulary, public works, agriculture and vocational education, and, while the spokesmen of our government insist that Haiti is a sovereign nation, our American organization has in practice controlled very largely the entire government of the negro republic.

Why are we involved in this pecu-

liar relationship? Geography offers an excuse rather than an explanation. The island, of which the republic forms the western one-third, is a part of the broken Antillian arc which bounds the Caribbean and intersects the Atlantic routes to the Panama Canal. In this region, extreme interpretations of the Monroe Doctrine are commonly held to be applicable; and there has been an apparently sincere conviction in diplomatic and navy circles that political conditions and economic enterprises in the little republics of the Caribbean area are matters of vital interest to the United States, in accordance with that corollary of the Monroe Doctrine which has been called our Isthmian Policy. In his little book on Nicaragua, Secretary Stimson refers to this policy and apparently indicates his belief in its soundness.

There was American capital in Haiti. There were European investments for which American capital might be substituted. There were a few possible opportunities for the further investment of American capital. Nevertheless, while we have in effect denied in Haiti that equality of economic opportunity which we demanded in the mandate territories of Asia and Africa, and while we have encouraged American investments in the country in accordance with the needs and desires of the people, we have been for the most part scrupulously fair in economic matters to our unwilling wards; and it seems evident that there has been no purpose on the part of our officials to deprive the Haitian people of land which rightfully belongs to them or in any other way to permit their exploitation for the benefit of American capitalists.

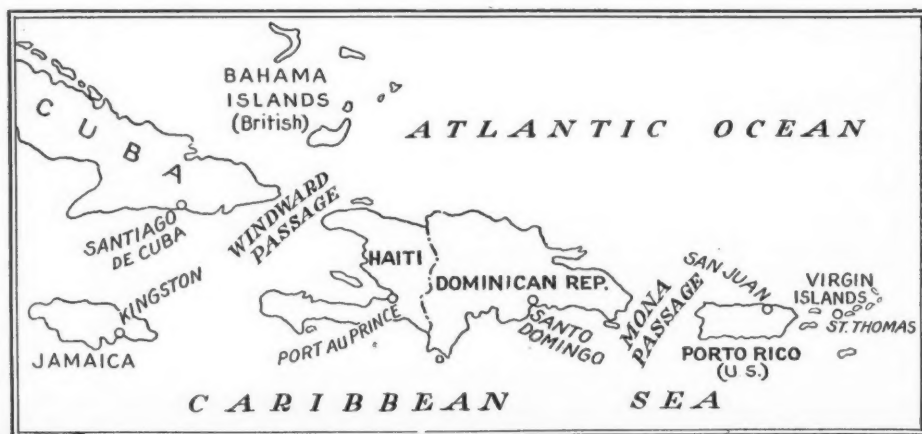
Our Haitian undertaking has been viewed in Haiti, in Latin America

generally and in the United States with persistent and deep-seated suspicion. Extreme apologists of the occupation cite the Monroe Doctrine and its Isthmian variation, while uncompromising critics denounce the whole adventure as imperialistic. The clearest statement of our policy, stripped of all non-essentials, was that enunciated by Charles Evans Hughes at the Havana conference: "It is our desire to encourage stability in the interest of independence. We would leave Haiti at any time that we had reasonable expectations of stability, and could be assured that the withdrawal would not be the occasion for a recurrence of bloodshed. Meanwhile, we are endeavoring in every important direction to assist in the establishment of conditions for stability and prosperity. Not that we may stay in Haiti, but that we may get out at the earliest opportunity."

Representative self-government as Americans know it has never functioned in Haiti and possibly never will. Before the intervention, political power was generally in the hands of a comparatively small class, the so-called *élite*, the members of which have been devoid of social conscience or public morality, and have looked upon governmental office solely as an opportunity for private profit. The people in the mass are near the level of barbarism—simple, primitive, credulous,

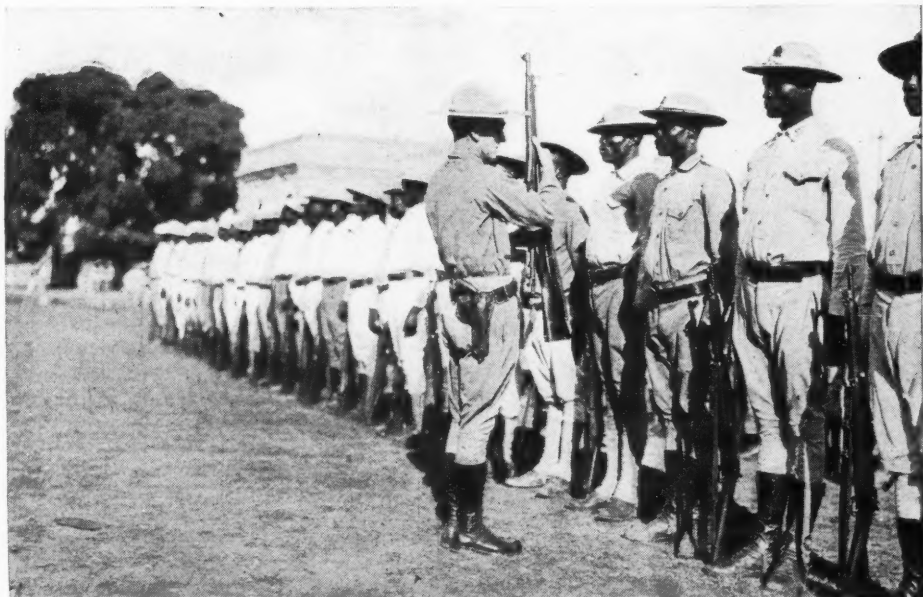
shiftless, indescribably poor, incredibly ignorant, kindly, carefree and contented. They probably possess capacity for political improvement within the limits fixed by their tropical environment; but the country is three or four times overpopulated and its resources, realized and potential, are largely agricultural and far from impressive.

Lacking information regarding tropical conditions and tropical people, comparatively few Americans can see anything unattainable or even very difficult in the objective which we have unalterably set for ourselves in Haiti. The American state of mind, whatever doubt may exist with regard to its correctness, must accordingly be taken as the point of departure in any immediately practical consideration of the Haitian problem. We are dedicated to the task of fitting the Haitian people for stable self-government. From this point of view, the obvious elementary needs of Haiti, if the country is to achieve permanent stability, are, first, a well-distributed augmentation of the national income, to be accomplished by an increased production of exportable commodities, and, second, a special type of practical education, which, while teaching the people to work and to produce, will also train them for better individual and community living. Nevertheless, with the greatest possible increase of produc-



Map showing Haiti's position in the West Indies





Native Haitian police, drilled and commanded by United States marines

tion and with no further growth of population, it is doubtful whether the standard of living of the masses can be so improved as to meet even the minimum requirements of citizenship in a self-governing community.

With regard to education, while it does not appear that any important effort has been made toward adult instruction, we have established a number of agricultural schools which may by this time enroll 9,000 or 10,000 children. Schools in Haiti not under American supervision enroll about 100,000 pupils; but their instruction is predominantly literary and they are considered by the American authorities, with much reason, to be practically worthless. It is possible that 25 per cent of the children of school age in Haiti are receiving elementary instruction and perhaps  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent are in the vocational schools established by the Occupation.

Expansion of any educational system must be limited by the available supply of trained teachers. Apparently the only institution for the training of vocational teachers in Haiti is the central school of agriculture. Assuming

that this school will be continuously filled to capacity, that all its graduates become teachers and that no provision need be made for replacements, it can provide instructors for not more than 5,000 additional elementary pupils a year. At the best, we may be able in 1936 to have enrolled in the vocational schools as many as 40,000 Haitian children, or not more than 10 per cent of the children of school age, assuming that population remains stationary. Considering further that a minor fraction of the children thus educated or to be educated by the Occupation will have reached maturity in 1936, it becomes clear that our administrative attempt to develop character and mentality in the people will make before the expiration of the treaty no appreciable contribution to the stabilization of the country.

Moreover, we can show, unfortunately, no progress and apparently no vigorous effort toward the proper organization of education. The vocational schools are under the direction of an American agricultural specialist; the other schools are administered by the Haitian Department of Public Instruc-



Photograph by Robert Niles Jr.  
Life in Haiti at its most primitive

tion. It does not appear that any attempt is being made to prepare this department to take over eventually the administration of both systems. Neither does it appear that any new educational legislation has been inspired by the Occupation. In educational matters, duplication, jealousy and conflict exist. Unless public instruction shall be unified and properly organized for a sufficient period before the termination of the treaty, there is grave danger that, as cynically predicted by an American in Haiti, the new school buildings may be used for stables.

It is time to face frankly the unavoidable conclusion that we have not created conditions of stability in Haiti and probably cannot do so before the expiration of the treaty. The lesson of recent occurrences lies in their timely confirmation of this view. It is immaterial whether the disturbances were occasioned by the opposition press and by a handful of agitators or resulted from a wide-spread revolutionary plot. Our primary obligation in Haiti is not to suppress revolutionary movements as they arise, but to make the Haitian

people capable of preventing or suppressing their own disorders. Nevertheless, it is doubtful whether we have touched the consciences of the *élite* or strengthened any stabilizing element in the agricultural or mercantile class. We have not materially increased literacy or, what is more important, economic, social and political capacity. In spite of our sincerity there will be in 1936, unless something unforeseen happens, no "reasonable expectations of stability." To take this probability into our calculations for the future

is the most practical thing that we can do. An impartial scientific survey is the obvious first step. Such a survey will be useful if it does nothing more than recommend an organization and an administrative program for the next six years; but it will be far more useful if it suggests policies and procedures in anticipation of the expiration of the treaty in 1936.

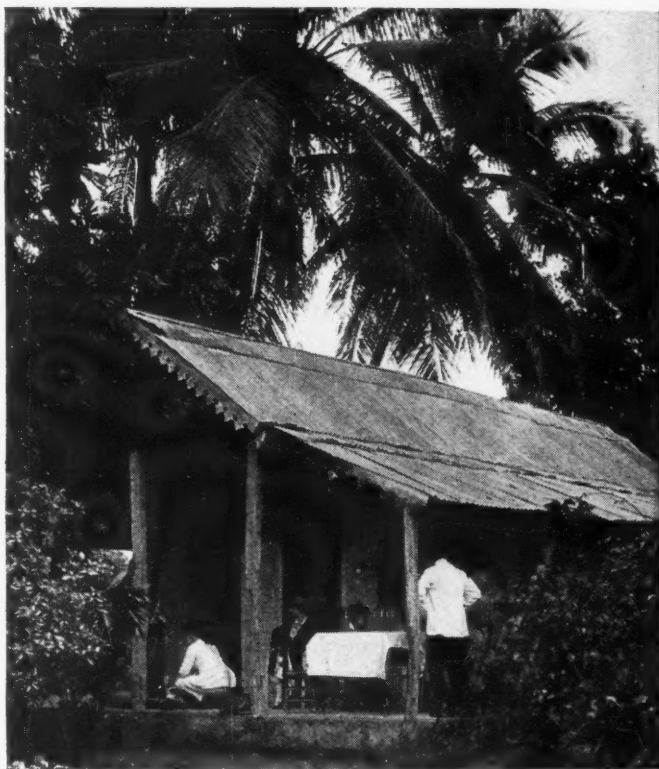
Unless we soon shape our action in preparation for that event, the United States Government in five or six years, whatever party be in office or its personnel be, is likely to find that the shortsightedness of the present administration has left an acutely embarrassing legacy. In 1936 there will be substantially more American capital in Haiti than in 1915. Millions of dollars of Haitian money have been put by the Occupation into transportation and communication facilities, public buildings, wharves, hospitals, schools and equipment. Considerable sums have been spent by the United States Government for the pacification and reconstruction of the republic. The native members of the Haitian constabulary

lary have been taught to shoot; and, whether they are manipulated by the President of Haiti or by one of his rivals or divided among themselves, they may create in future revolutions a respectable list of casualties. The Monroe Doctrine and the Isthmian policy, reinforced perhaps by another canal, will lose none of their plausibility during the next six years. Can it be imagined that we shall wish in 1936 to abandon Haiti to recurring cycles of revolution, ruin and intervention? If we are ever to insure stable government in Haiti, we must look forward to the continued tutelage of the country in some effective form.

On the other hand, after twenty years devoted to the teaching of self-government, punctuated by solemn assurances of our recognition of the sovereignty of Haiti, we cannot, with any degree of self-respect, force on the people of that country either a new treaty or a renewal of the present convention. Even if the State and Navy Departments, with the approval of the President, were willing to repeat the distasteful incidents of 1915, it is extremely doubtful if public opinion in the United States or the Senate would again permit the ratification of a peacetime treaty obtained by coercion.

An analysis of the Haitian problem reveals two sets of factors. The first set includes those which are chiefly material and tangible and subject for the most part to ordinary administrative procedure—for example, policing, finance, public works, public health, and the

promotion of agriculture and commerce. The second set comprises factors which are in the main psychological, social, political or diplomatic, and the handling of which can never be perfectly standardized—for example, education in relation to public morality and capacity for self-government, the establishment and functioning of the machinery of elections, of legislation and of local government, the fostering of cordial relations between the native population and its American tutors, and, finally and most important, provision for the situation which will be created by the expiration of the treaty. For various reasons, the tangible factors in the Haitian problem present at the moment less urgency and less difficulty than the intangible. We have, indeed, been too greatly preoccupied with mechanical efficiency and material accomplishment, neither of which the



Photograph by Robert Niles Jr

A free clinic of the Rockefeller Health Board in Haiti

Haitian people can yet understand or appreciate; while we have shown relatively meager evidence of fruitful sympathy, constructive imagination, far-sighted diplomacy, or, indeed, any adequate comprehension or analysis of the intangible aspects of the problem.

Recent occurrences indicate that we have made little progress in winning the friendship or understanding of the Haitian people. Conditions in this respect are worse perhaps than at any time since the original pacification of the country. We can scarcely expect, of course, to be loved by an alien people of another color, but the inherent difficulties of the situation make it more imperative that we should remove so far as possible obvious causes of antagonism. Our organization has needlessly widened the gap between itself and the people. To be sure, the Haitians in the mass are ignorant and inarticulate; but the prime purpose of the Occupation is to awaken their latent capacity for opinion and expression. When the Constitution of 1918 was adopted, the intervention authorities suspended the elective National Assembly and substituted for it an interim Council of State, which is appointed by the President of Haiti and which in turn elects the Chief Executive. President Borno, chosen by this figurehead Council, has been in office since 1922, during the entire period of service of the present American High Commissioner.

No one questions the high-mindedness or ability of President Borno; but he has only in a very slight measure represented the Haitian people. Yet we have acted as if he were the Haitian State, while supposedly training the people in representative self-government. The High Commissioner's relationship with him has been so intimate as to exclude practically all other salutary contacts between Americans and Haitians. Moreover, the Occupation has functioned in such a manner as to set itself apart, not only from the people but also from the body of the government. When the writer left Haiti a year ago, members of the American organization, other than the High Commis-

sioner, were conferring rarely with the President, and their relations with the Haitian Ministers, to whom they were nominally responsible, tended to become wholly perfunctory or formal. In ironical contradiction of the policy of our government, routine procedure was such as to throw into sharp relief the joint dictatorship of President Borno and the American High Commissioner, as well as to create the appearance, if not the fact, of direct domination of Haiti by the United States Government. At the same time, administration, legislation and constitutional amendments were tending to the further centralization of an already over-centralized State and to the enhancement of the prestige and power of the Presidential office. We have been preparing for future revolutionaries a more attractive goal and a more glittering prize.

#### CIVILIAN COMMISSIONER NEEDED

Moreover, the American High Commissioner was a Brigadier General of Marines; a skeleton marine brigade was stationed in Haiti in amusing proximity to the Presidential palace; marine officers were members of the personal bodyguard of the President; the American legation was largely staffed with marine officers; the young civilian chargé d'affaires at our legation was ordinarily kept subordinated in a state of masterful inactivity; American engineers and physicians in Haitian government service wore their naval uniforms; censorship existed and newspaper editors were imprisoned; a Haitian club was suppressed because of alleged political discussion. The net result of these and other phenomena was to render military mentality and appearances of force unnecessarily conspicuous, to stimulate nationalistic feeling among the people and to intensify their antagonism and hostility.

Regardless of the personal qualities of the present High Commissioner, it would seem high time that he were replaced by a civilian representative possessing the capacity, diplomatic skill, imagination, sympathy and tact requi-





Haitian peasant women on the way to market

site for dealing with the intangible factors in the situation. Apart from the change of atmosphere and mentality which would be effected by this step, the presumption is that the treaty organization, if it is to remain responsible to our diplomatic representative, will be more appropriately supervised and coordinated by a civilian than by a military officer.

It appears that a number of Haitians in opposition to President Borno, while demanding a popular election of the National Assembly (the two-chambered legislature which chooses the President), have requested that the election be supervised by the United States Government. There would seem to be no controlling reason, so far as policy is concerned, for rejecting this request. There is now little doubt that the National Assembly should be reconstituted. To be sure, the election, even if properly supervised, will be one in form only; the members of the Assembly are not likely to be truly representative, and a two-chambered legislature may prove annoying in its obstruction of budgetary and other legislation. On the

other hand, the existence of the Assembly should remove in large part the appearance of dictatorship, while affording a means, poor though it may be, for broadening American contacts with the Haitian people.

At the present time the two most important branches of our stabilizing work in Haiti are agricultural development and vocational education; and these are the two which should be most thoroughly understood and appreciated by the mass of the people. One deals predominantly with tangible factors; the other with intangible. Both, it is understood, are still under the direction of a single American treaty official. It may be significant of our handling of the Haitian problem in general that the rioting peasants, with their denunciations of President Borno, should have coupled the name of this American director of agriculture and vocational training. In the future it may be well to aim toward the separation of these two activities, vocational education, as previously suggested, to be integrated eventually with the Haitian system of public instruction. Our agri-

cultural work would doubtless be more effective and more popular if it were simplified and decentralized; and, in the place of elaborate administrative and experimental institutions, simple object-lessons in cultivation might well be taken directly to the peasants. No American administration in Haiti, for example, is more efficient or more popular than the public health service, which through numerous clinics is in constant, direct and helpful contact with tens of thousands of poor Haitians. Such work is not merely practical administration; it is also the best possible diplomacy.

#### FISCAL CONTROL

In looking forward to the expiration of the treaty, careful consideration should be given to the fact that the loan agreements with the National City Bank, as approved by the Haitian legislative body, provide for the continuation of the customs receivership until the final repayment of the three loans. According to these agreements, American control of the collection of customs receipts and internal revenues and of disbursements for the service of the Haitian debt should continue until 1943 and possibly later, depending on the rapidity of debt liquidation. Without further action, therefore, we shall retain in Haiti for several years after the termination of the treaty, a form of fiscal control similar to that which exists in the Dominican Republic and in certain other Latin-American countries. Such control can insure only the service of the debt; it cannot guarantee the wise or honest expenditure of other public funds. It may be possible, however, to obtain for the general receiver of customs additional power to supervise the budget and control expenditures, similar to the authority now exercised by the American financial adviser.

Furthermore, it is not improbable that Haiti may be willing to employ by contract a number of American administrators for the constabulary, public works, public health, agriculture, commerce and education. Other countries, with no humiliation or loss of sovereignty, have taken similar action; and Americans in their employment, working under extremely difficult conditions and frequently embarrassed by unwieldy and critical legislatures, have achieved important results without a treaty, a detachment of marines, or even active diplomatic support.

It would seem, in any event, that our program for the next five years should include an endeavor to place on the Haitian statute books a reasonable amount of further essential legislation. The lack of educational legislation has been mentioned. With the object of preserving the benefits of American administration something should be done about the civil service. No laws, even the most rudimentary, have been enacted in Haiti for the purpose of protecting meritorious employees. Outside the treaty services, the spoils system reigns unashamed and unchecked; and, when American control is removed, the entire appointive personnel of the government, with the possible exception of the judiciary, will be left exposed to the worst sort of political demoralization.

When all is said and done, however, surveys, programs and policies constitute only an indispensable preliminary—an irreducible minimum. When plans are made, some one must carry them out. Continuous detailed supervision cannot be satisfactorily exercised from Washington. Whether and how we solve the problem will be determined very largely by the type and capacity of the men that represent us in Haiti.

# The Rhineland Occupation

By EMIL LENGYEL

AMERICAN CORRESPONDENT, *Die Boerse* AND *Die Stunde*, VIENNA

FEW INTERNATIONAL questions have caused so many complications since the war as the problem of the Rhineland.

It was the controversy over these provinces that led to the collapse of the German currency. This in turn led to the settlement of the reparations problem through the Dawes and Young plans. The fate of several French and German Governments was decided in the Rhineland. There Poincaré's Right Wing Government suffered its worst reverses in 1924, with the consequent victory of the French parties of the Left and the formation of the *Cartel des Gauches*. Briand's latest government went down to defeat last Fall on a point of order regarding its Rhineland policy. The problem loomed large when the Reich was admitted to the League of Nations and when the Pacts of Locarno and the abortive Thoiry agreements were under consideration. The allied guard on the Rhine has both disturbed Franco-British relations and helped Germany to overcome internal dissension and to concentrate on a unified national policy.

The problem is now nearing at least a temporary solution. After interminable wranglings which affected the work of nearly every important international conference during the past five years, the former allies consented to the evacuation of the Rhineland in advance of the schedule stipulated in the Treaty of Versailles. The second Rhine zone was evacuated in November, instead of two months later, and the third zone will be evacuated in the course of the current year, eight months after the ratification of The

Hague agreements, instead of in 1935.

The struggle for the Rhine is not of recent origin. For nearly twenty centuries the valley of the river has been in dispute. At the time of Julius Caesar, who garrisoned twelve cohorts at a Rhine bridgehead, the river was the political and strategic frontier of the Roman Empire. Nine centuries later, in 843, when the Holy Roman Empire was divided among the grandsons of Charlemagne, the region of the Rhine was relegated, temporarily at least, to the rôle of a buffer State on the outskirts of the realms of the East and West Franks.

Another eight centuries later, at the termination of the Thirty Years' War, the Rhineland, which had been reunited with Germany, contained at least a score of the 350 sovereign "fatherlands" of the empire, most of which were engaged in internecine warfare or were abandoned to the mercies of hordes of disbanded soldiers, pillaging and massacring. The Germans themselves made it easy for Louis XIV to live up to his reputation as an invincible conqueror and further to dismember the Rhineland. Another hundred years passed and the Rhine was the frontier of revolutionary France. Only after the downfall of Napoleon did France, in obedience to the commands of the powers united in the Holy Alliance, give up the coveted territories.

Even when the French were not in possession of the Rhineland they seldom relinquished their claim to it on the grounds of national security. According to the Gallic school of thought, the Rhine is France's natural frontier. This argument was reinforced during the nineteenth century by the prophets

of economic imperialism, who never ceased to preach the doctrine that possession of the Rhineland was the only means of keeping step with Germany's competitive industrial armament. It was in line with this traditional aspiration that the thoughts of the French Foreign Office turned toward the Rhine during the war and that in February, 1917, France and Russia concluded the agreement under which the territories on the left bank outside France were to be transformed into an autonomous neutral state.

#### FOCH'S AIM

The apostles of a Greater France were active at the Paris Peace Conference at the end of the World War. Their spokesman was Marshal Foch, who insisted that, unless the Rhineland were detached from Germany, the territorial integrity of France could not be guaranteed. His view was that the Rhineland should be attached to France or, if this proved to be impossible, the letter and spirit of the neutral-State agreement should be carried out by elevating the provinces to the status of semi-independent territories.

The determined resistance of the American and British plenipotentiaries prevented the French from realizing this fond hope. The most the French delegates could obtain was the temporary occupation of the left bank of the Rhine. The territory was divided into three zones, the first of which, situated around Cologne, was to be evacuated on Jan. 10, 1925; the second, with headquarters at Coblenz, was to be returned to the Germans on Jan. 10, 1930, and the third, around Mayence, at the beginning of 1935. In order to safeguard France as much as possible against German invasion a neutral zone was set aside on a fifty-mile-wide strip of land east of the Rhine, on which Germany is forbidden to erect fortifications or maintain military garrisons. As a compromise, however, the Treaty of Versailles, in that controversial Article 431, provided that "if before the expiration of the period of fifteen years

Germany complies with all undertakings resulting from the present treaty, the occupying forces will be withdrawn immediately."

France has held that the Rhineland is a *gage productif* destined under the treaty to assure Germany's disarmament and prompt payment of reparations. Acting on this view, three times during the last ten years France has taken measures in the Rhineland to punish Germany. In 1920 the French Army marched into Frankfort and Darmstadt in retaliation for Germany's sending troops into the Ruhr district to suppress a Communist uprising. The Ruhr district being in the neutral zone, the French Government held that not even the emergency justified the Reich's violation of the treaty. In May, 1921, French troops occupied Duesseldorf, Ruhrort and Duisburg, the so-called sanction towns, on account of Germany's failure to meet her reparation payments. But the most serious of these occupations did not take place until nearly two years later.

The Reparation Commission, with the British delegate dissenting, on Jan. 9, 1923, declared Germany in voluntary default in deliveries of coal. On Jan. 11 the French, supported by the Belgians but unsupported by the British, marched into Essen, on the right bank of the Rhine, and in the following days occupied the entire region known as the Ruhr district. Once more French troops were in possession of Germany's western borderland from Kehl to Offenbourg, from Ludwigshafen to Mannheim and Darmstadt; once more the French reconquered Dumouriez's position around Mayence, on the Taunus Hill, and on the Lahn, while 100,000 French soldiers held the Ruhr basin itself.

Germany's reply was passive resistance. The trains stopped and the mines and factories were shut down. The French reaction was just as drastic. The occupying authorities court-martialed and executed a number of Germans, jailed thousands and expelled tens of thousands. Eight months later, Stresemann, the new head of the Ger-



man Government, realizing the futility of further opposition, offered to negotiate, but the French Government rejected his advances as untrustworthy. Ultimately, the parties to the controversy compromised on having the M. I. C. U. M. (the Interallied Factory and Mine Commission) try to adjust differences with the industrial magnates of the Ruhr themselves. The following year Edouard Herriot's radical government came into power in France, and one of its first acts was to order the evacuation of the Ruhr.

The American army of occupation left the Rhineland during the Ruhr controversy. After the storm had blown over in the Ruhr and the French had withdrawn to the left bank of the Rhine, the population of the occupied territory began to feel the consequences of the new Rhineland policy. The British evacuated the first zone, although belatedly, at the end of 1925, instead of the beginning of that year. Many odious restrictions hampering the movements of the population were removed, and the government of the Reich was permitted to exercise, within certain bounds, its sovereign prerogatives in the Rhineland.

The Rhinelanders themselves have the most serious grievance against the occupation of their country, since they were made to pay and suffer moral and physical discomfort for the alleged derelictions of the entire Reich. Although the situation has improved to a very large extent, even today the Rhineland is suffering from economic depression. Whereas in the Reich only 9 persons out of 1,000 receive unemployment dole, their number in the Rhineland is 13, and in the Palatinate 19. To give only a few instances of the afflictions, railroad car loadings in Aix-la-Chapelle, according to German official figures, are only 60 per cent of those in 1914, while Wiesbaden, before the war a popular bathing resort, has only about one-half of its pre-war annual quota of visitors. Each Rhenish city has some complaint of this sort, which it attributes to the allied occupation.



Map of the Rhineland occupation, showing the zones provided in the Versailles Treaty

Administratively, the largest part of the Rhineland belongs to Prussia, and only comparatively small territories are parts of Bavaria, Hessen and Oldenburg. Before the war the Rhinelanders were antagonistic to Prussian rule, on the grounds of racial attachment and traditions. Standing guard at the western outpost of Germanic civilization, the Rhinelanders could not preserve their racial characteristics to the extent the "pure-blooded" Prussians did. They intermarried with Belgians, Alsatians, Lorrainers and with the French of the Northern departments. Their outlook on life was thus tinged with the temperamental vivacity of the neighboring Latins, and nothing was further from them than to sympathize with the somber philosophy of their Prussian countrymen. The Napoleonic Wars found the Rhinelanders on the side of the Emperor of the French,

who had brought them relief from the feudal oppression of their landowners.

At the beginning of the occupation French hopes of alienating the affections of the Rhine provinces from Prussia were not, therefore, as fantastic as they seem now. Given the proper method and a large dose of understanding, the Rhinelanders would not be today so antagonistic to French rule as they are. There is nothing left now of those "delicious flirtations with the French," of which Heine wrote so charmingly. The allied occupation has accomplished at least one thing: It has dissipated the age-long sentimental longing of the Rhinelanders for the South and strengthened their bonds of union with the Reich.

The separatist movements in the Rhineland, it is now generally recognized, have contributed largely to this reversion of sentiment. The population of these regions could never dissociate the occupying authorities, especially the French, from the efforts directed toward the establishing of a Rhenish republic. The first republic was proclaimed in the Summer of 1919 at a congress of the Separatists at Wiesbaden. The most vocal and also the

most important member of the congress was Dr. Hans Dorten, scion of a well-known Rhenish family. During the World War he distinguished himself in the German Army and received the Iron Cross for gallantry in the field. When the war was over he turned against Prussia. His aim was to transform the Rhineland into an autonomous republic. Undoubtedly sincere and honest, Dr. Dorten attracted numerous followers, but the movement soon met with difficulties when they seceded and their place was taken by political riff-raff. The Berlin Government issued a warrant for the arrest of Dorten, but he could not be apprehended, since he confined his activities to the occupied regions. In 1923 he was kidnapped at Wiesbaden and taken to Leipzig, where he was to be executed. The French Rhineland authorities intervened, and had him brought back under their jurisdiction and secured his release. The French intervention, however, killed Dorten politically.

In October, 1923, the Belgians, taking their cue from the French, did not object to the proclamation of a Rhenish republic at Aix-la-Chapelle, which was under Belgian rule. The Reich accused



Burg Katz, above the town of St. Goarshausen, one of the most beautiful castles on the Rhine



BINGEN-ON-THE-RHINE

the Belgian Government of having gone beyond benevolent neutrality toward the movement, of having encouraged the Separatists to seize the seats of municipal government, and even of having placed government trains at their disposal. By this time genuine Rhinelanders had become impatient with the Separatists. One of the Separatist leaders, Herr Heinz, was killed. In Pirmasens there was fierce fighting between Separatists and Loyalists. The Separatists barricaded themselves in the police station, which the attacking patriots set on fire, killing twenty men of the opposing camp.

The hold of the Separatists on the Rhineland was now so precarious that they had to proclaim their republic for a third time. The proclamation was issued in Kaiserslautern in the Autumn of 1923. The Separatists of the Palatinate, disgusted with the slow methods of their confrères, proclaimed a republic of their own. The Loyalists suspected General de Metz, commander of the French troops in the Palatinate, of giving his support to the movement. The suspicion was, evidently, shared by the British Foreign Office, which dispatched Mr. Clive, the British Consul

at Munich, to investigate the movement in the Palatinate. The Consul was very outspoken in his criticism of the occupying authorities. The upshot of his investigation, confirmed by similar inquiries in the other parts of the Rhineland, was that the overwhelming majority of the population was hostile to the Separatists. Even the leaders of the movement had to admit under cross-examination that at least 75 per cent of their followers had been recruited from outside the Rhineland.

#### THE "SHAME ON THE RHINE"

While the Reich continuously imputed bad faith to the French for instigating these risings, its chief complaint was made on another score—"*Die Schmach am Rheine*" (the shame on the Rhine)—that is, the use by the French of colored troops. Even the Socialist governments of the Reich exploited this circumstance as material for propaganda, especially in America. That the sovereign rights of Germany had been violated was another grievance. The Treaty of Versailles left the Rhine provinces under the civil jurisdiction of Germany. This right was denied and nullified by the Rhineland



Times Wide World

French troops occupying the Ruhr

Commission, which issued its own ordinances and suspended or vetoed the laws of the Reich. The flags of the allied powers had to be saluted by uniformed Germans, whether they were firemen or postmen, and German residents of the Rhineland had to have passports to cross into other parts of their native land.

The Germans compare this severity with their own methods during the occupation of French territory in 1871 after the Franco-Prussian War. These comparisons are particularly popular now that some of the important State documents of those days have been included in the collection of secret papers published by the French Government. The Germans dwell on the fact that their negotiators at the Frankfurt Peace Conference did not press for humiliating terms. At the first sign that the French Government was willing to fulfill its obligations they released the territories held as a security. They remind France that Bismarck left no stone unturned to strengthen the position of Thiers, first President of the Third French Republic. Can the same be said, the Germans ask with

a touch of malice, of contemporary French statesmen? Have some of them at least not impugned the motives of the very men who have died as martyrs to the cause of Franco-German reconciliation — Erzberger, Rathenau and Stresemann? They point to the correspondence between Bismarck and General Manteuffel, commander of the army of occupation in France, which shows that the German troops were instructed to celebrate the birthday of the French President and that the French found themselves under the necessity of reciprocating the courtesy.

Even now, the Germans complain, they are being insulted and humiliated in their own country. In 1928 nearly 1,500 Rhinelanders were court-martialed by the occupying military forces. Even now shoals of French lecturers descend on the Rhineland to preach to the inhabitants the superiority of Gallic culture. Even now the French schools are waiting vainly for German children to attend, while French theatres are open for German audiences. France does not desire to wake up from the age-old dream of one day finding the Rhineland ready to embrace a new



faith and to become the eastern frontier of the French fatherland.

In reply to such accusations, it is only fair to say that the French, as well as their allies, have done their best to tide the Rhinelanders over the worst spell of currency inflation and economic collapse. When the poverty of the Reich threatened to engulf the Rhine provinces the French promptly sent relief workers to the territory under their authority, opened public kitchens and milk stations, collected clothes in France and distributed them among the poor, and endeavored generally to stave off catastrophe. It is quite possible they did so for political reasons, in order to give a practical demonstration of the superiority of living conditions in France, but the result remains the same—the Rhineland did receive help from the French.

The Rhinelanders are disinclined to look back upon their past tribulations with a forgiving smile. No crying German girls were seen when the French recently evacuated the second zone. There is practically no intercourse between Rhenish society and the

French occupying army. Attempts at fraternization have been promptly and stingingly rebuked by the Germans. France has gained no friends in the Rhineland. In other words, as regards spiritual Gallicization, the occupation was a huge failure.

The case of the British occupying forces is quite different. After Great Britain's refusal in 1923 to take part in the Ruhr expedition the Rhinelanders looked to the British for protection whenever they thought their French masters were too hard on them. The doors of the best society were always open to British officers. If they did not always avail themselves of the social opportunities it was because of regard for French sensibilities rather than personal disinclination. Therefore, so as not to offend their comrades in arms, the French officers, the British showed a certain amount of reserve in accepting invitations. In the opinion of the Rhinelanders, the British performed a very useful service as shock-absorbers; without them Rhenish relations with the French might have been even more strained.



Associated Press

#### EVACUATION OF EHRENBREITSTEIN

After eleven years of occupation, the German flag was again raised last December over Ehrenbreitstein, the fortress at the juncture of the Rhine and the Moselle

# Spain's Political Turmoil

By JULIO ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

MADRID CORRESPONDENT OF THE *Manchester (England) Guardian*

FOR SOME MONTHS before the overthrow of constitutional government in Spain, on Sept. 13, 1923, the main issue in politics was the question of responsibility for the series of military reverses in Morocco in 1921, which reached their culmination in the defeat at Anual. Vigorous demands were being made by the people for an explanation of the continual losses of men and money, and when the parliamentary elections resulted in a majority favorable to an investigation, the government appointed a committee of twenty-one Deputies representing all parties in the House. This committee spent the Summer of 1923 in examining everybody who could throw light on the Moroccan question.

Owing to the attitude of the Socialist and Republican members of the committee, responsibility for the Moroccan reverses was established without hesitation and in no uncertain terms. Not even King Alfonso was spared. It was shown that, without the knowledge of the Minister of War or of General Berenguer, who was in command in Morocco, the King maintained direct communication with General Silvestre and, while in the midst of the frivolities of the Summer season at the fashionable French seaside resort of Deauville, had ordered him to advance on Alhucemas, the operation which led to the disaster at Anual.

Parliament was to reassemble in the first days of October, 1923. While the committee was still at work the idea took form that the most effective way to cover up the scandal would be to prevent the results of the investigation from being brought forward for discussion. The overthrow of the govern-

ment on Sept. 13 originated solely for this purpose. This is proved by a number of statements, especially that made two years later by the late Antonio Maura, at one time leader of the Conservative party, in which he related a conversation he had with King Alfonso a couple of months before the establishment of the dictatorship. The King pointed to the trend all over Europe toward government "free from all parliamentary hindrances." Maura, well aware of the difficulties that the organization of a dictatorship would present in Spain, a country less easy to manage than Italy, advised the King against his plan and declined the proffered position of head of the contemplated dictatorship. In the following weeks the King undoubtedly discussed his idea with other persons in his confidence. The report of a conversation which Salvatella, then Minister of Public Instruction, had with Alfonso during a railway journey is further evidence of the King's purpose. Thus, during the Summer of 1923, it was open to any one who felt strong and bold enough to accept the King's invitation to attempt the establishment of a dictatorship. The man who finally undertook the task was General Primo de Rivera.

Inclined to optimism and rather simple-minded in his political ideas, but on the other hand more courageous than most of the other generals, as he has proved during his six years of power, Primo de Rivera undoubtedly thought he was doing his country a great service. No sooner had he overthrown the government than he received the royal sanction, and in less than twenty-four hours Alfonso, feel-

ing himself free from his constitutional obligations, commissioned Primo de Rivera to form a military directory to govern Spain. Both the Liberal and Conservative parties were no more than pawns in the game played by the King, who personally manipulated the leaders and intervened in their disputes. For more than ten years the King had been a most active political factor in the country. The people, long accustomed to seeing their constitutional rights suspended on the slightest pretext, felt no impulse to defend civil liberties which were merely nominal. There was, therefore, no protest, except by a few labor organizations, on the part of the great majority of the nation when Primo de Rivera was placed at the head of the government.

The Dictator's initial program contained four essential aims—to terminate the Moroccan campaign, to re-establish social order, to solve the so-called Catalan crisis and to bring about economy in public expenditures.

In only one of these purposes—the ending of the Moroccan campaign—has Primo de Rivera been completely successful, and that more because of fav-

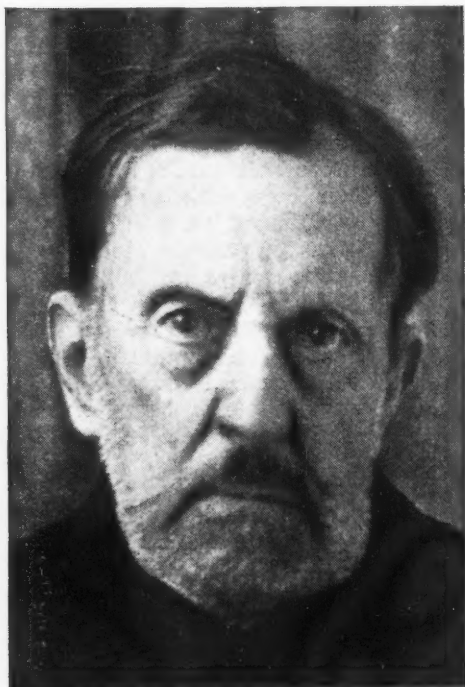
orable circumstances than anything else. Abd-el-Krim, the leader of the Moorish national movement, flushed by his military victories, lost his sense of reality and committed the mistake of extending his attacks into the French zone in Morocco. France could not permit rebellion there lest it might spread to other portions of her great colonial empire. Resolved that the Moorish advance must be stopped without delay, she forgot her political rivalry with Spain for the time and reached an understanding for joint military action, which had the desired effect. In fairness to Primo de Rivera it must be said that he acted with greater decisiveness than his predecessors in dealing with the Moroccan situation, even if he enjoyed a great deal of the luck in which he always puts his faith.

#### RESTORING SOCIAL ORDER

As to the restoration of social order in Spain and the Catalan troubles, the government, with the aid of the censorship, was able for a time to prevent the situation from being known and to make foreign visitors think that the dictatorship was a success. Tem-



King Alfonso (front, centre) and the Generals of the first Military Directory. Primo de Rivera is at the left of the King in the photograph



GEN. VALERIANO WEYLER  
Veteran Spanish General, who has opposed  
Primo de Rivera's dictatorship

porarily, indeed, there was an end to the murders of employers and workmen in the streets of Barcelona, where a strong syndicalist movement had been a constant cause of unrest. That movement was soon suppressed, though it was already in its decline before the establishment of the dictatorship, which accordingly found its task so much the easier. At first the greater part of Catalonia was favorable to Primo de Rivera, because he had been Captain General at Barcelona and had promised a measure of Catalan autonomy. But this promise has never been kept, and the problem, so far from being solved, still exists, and in a more embittered form than ever.

Elsewhere in Spain strikes decreased. The General Workers Union and the Socialist party believed that, since by themselves they had not sufficient strength for a political struggle, their wisest course would be to concentrate their energies on increasing and or-

ganizing their membership. In this they succeeded, at the same time taking advantage of a few concessions which the government granted with a view to keeping the workers quiet. Of these the most important was the establishment of arbitration committees, consisting of employers and workmen, for the settlement of labor disputes.

#### ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

The most important question at present is that of economy and finance. Here, too, foreign visitors, especially Americans, some of whom have profitably done business under the dictatorship, have allowed themselves to be far too much impressed by appearances. Spain's economic development is undeniable, and yet, though the most important part of it has coincided with the dictatorship, its origin dates much further back. Naturally, with no other achievements to cite, the government of Primo de Rivera has claimed credit for prosperity due to entirely different causes. During the World War Spain, like other neutral countries, produced for the belligerents. Spanish capitalists at once saw that they could make better use of their money than by leaving it in the banks. Not only in Madrid and Barcelona but all over the country new industrial enterprises sprang into existence. All that the dictatorship has done has been to favor one section of Spanish capitalism and by its protection enable certain monopolies and banks to reap the benefits of some highly profitable transactions. At the same time, other sections of business have suffered severely. The policy of the government, increasingly protectionist and in the interest of a few capitalist groups which unaided would have found it difficult to meet foreign competition, has gradually been provoking retaliation by other countries, much to the detriment of Spanish exports.

The financial policy of the dictatorship has shown itself nowhere more unsound than in its public works program, which has led to deficits and a considerable increase in the national debt.



Solely for the purpose of adding to the prestige of the present régime, roads and railways have been constructed on a larger scale than ever, involving expenditures which often have not been justified and piling up liabilities which some time or other will have to be met. This explains the origin of the "extraordinary" budget, which has just been discarded at the suggestion of J. P. Morgan & Co. and other international banking houses to which the government has had to resort at critical moments for funds to carry on. Thus, it is only after six years that an end has been put to the device of transferring deficits from the "ordinary" to the "extraordinary" budget, the balance of which has never been disclosed.

#### THE FINANCIAL CRISIS

Spain, despite the economic expansion of recent years, is today in the grip of a financial crisis. But it is more than that. It is a crisis of distrust and political insecurity, with the dictatorship not knowing in what direction to turn. In the first weeks of November the general condition of nervousness led to a fall in prices on the Madrid and Barcelona stock exchanges. At first the newspapers which support the government declared that this was only a repercussion of the slump in New York, but it was soon apparent that the real cause was anxiety in regard to the political future of Spain. The peseta, which has a par value of 19.3 cents, keeps falling, and at this writing is quoted at 13.7 cents, which is the record low figure to date. The government's announcements of its intention to stabilize the peseta has not received a favorable response; leading bankers have, in fact, expressed themselves against such a step in present circumstances on the ground that the peseta can recover its value only when the existing political insecurity disappears, and this means that the dictatorship in present form must also disappear.

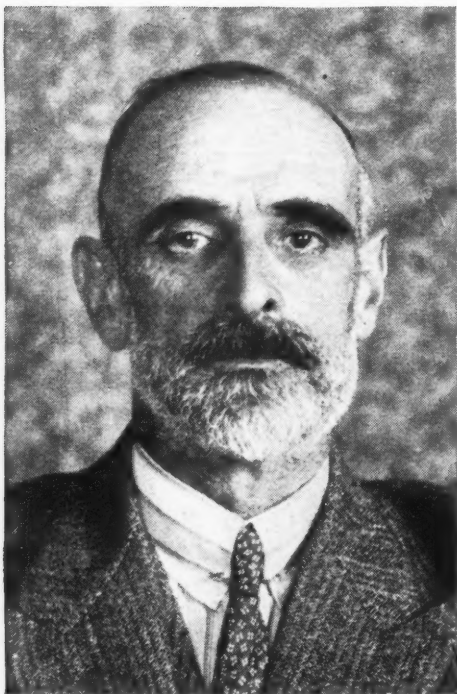
Although a precise line of demarcation cannot be drawn between those

who favor and those who oppose the dictatorship, since in the course of six years there have been inevitable variations, it is none the less possible to distinguish the main elements on one side and the other.

At the beginning of the dictatorship, as we have seen, Primo de Rivera owed his position to King Alfonso, but since then acute differences have arisen between them on more than one occasion. The King would doubtless have preferred a general more courteous and submissive than Primo de Rivera, but the dictator has a will of his own and has figured in certain episodes that have given rise to a good deal of comment. There is, for instance, the luncheon party at Aranjuez at which the King, before sitting down, engaged in a long conversation with the Duke of Almodóvar del Valle, a minister in the last constitutional government and one of Primo de Rivera's irreconcilable opponents. Primo de Rivera, feeling that he was being discussed, lost his patience and, to the surprise of all present, addressing the King in a voice that could be heard from one end of



THE DUKE OF ALBA  
Spanish political leader



FRANCISCO CAMBO

Mentioned as Primo de Rivera's successor at the head of the Spanish Government

the room to the other, said, "Her Majesty the Queen is already waiting to dine." For an instant the King's face turned pale, and then, without answering the dictator or looking in his direction, continued the conversation. Everybody expected an explosion, but, though it was learned afterward that the King felt impelled for the moment to return immediately to the royal palace, summon Primo de Rivera before him and force him to resign, the serious situation in which Alfonso would have found himself without being ready with a suitable successor for the dictatorship, decided him to adopt the simple and elegant attitude of contempt.

Another episode occurred at the royal palace during a meeting of the council of ministers which had to decide the important question of disbanding the Artillery Regiment. The previous evening Primo de Rivera had received an anonymous letter telling him

that he need not attend the council meeting since the King did not intend to sign the decree for disbandment and that Primo de Rivera, on the other hand, would expose himself to the possibility of leaving the palace under arrest. It is reported that as soon as the meeting of the council began, Primo de Rivera produced the anonymous letter and addressed the King in these words: "There are some persons who think they can worry me with threats of conspiracy against me. I believe I can always rely on the support of your Majesty. Moreover, for a long time I have taken precautions, and if the day should come when, because of these conspiracies, I should see any interruption to the work undertaken for the benefit of the country, the whole nation would hear for whom and how and with what object I overthrew the government on the thirteenth of September."

#### THE KING'S POSITION

The general impression is that King Alfonso would long ago have parted with Primo de Rivera if he could have done so without risk. Once the present dictator goes, the dynasty, many believe, will be in difficulties, and the King certainly has no desire to be discussed in Parliament. The Socialists and Republicans have made it clear that, if and when Parliament reassembles, they will revive the question of responsibility, the discussion of which was balked by the overthrow of the government in 1923, and that they also will direct attention to the King's violation of the constitution which he took his oath to maintain and which so far has not been replaced by any kind of new constitution. That is why Alfonso is opposed to parliamentary elections and why he continues to work with Primo de Rivera despite their differences. It has been only since discontent in the army and the financial situation have acquired an alarming character that Alfonso has become inclined to consider political changes. Thus, a few days ago, impressed by the fall of the peseta and the renewal of

army officers' meetings, he sought to discuss with Primo de Rivera, while they were out shooting at Guadalperal, the question of substituting for the present dictatorship a temporary Cabinet which would include such men as former Finance Minister Cambo and the Duke of Alba. But the dictator avoided discussing the subject by diverting the conversation to other topics.

The clergy has gained ground under the dictatorship inasmuch as it has gone a long way toward achieving control of secondary education. Consequently the Clerical party has supported the dictatorship from the beginning. Yet there are in the Catholic Church in Spain not a few who understand history well enough to fear the perils of a revolution which might be brought about by prolonging the dictatorship. For this reason the more intelligent leaders of the clergy, seeing that Primo de Rivera has failed to form a party of his own—his so-called "Patriotic Union" being without the strength to govern, since it is merely a grouping of small provincial and local interests—have begun to develop a policy of preparing for a gradual transition to a more or less constitutional régime.

#### FEAR OF BOLSHEVISM

A factor that operates strongly in favor of the dictatorship is the fear that, if it fell, it would be followed by bolshevism. In Spain, as elsewhere, the "red peril" has been exploited for all it is worth. Yet there is no publicly organized Communist party, since it is not recognized as a legal organization, and most of its members are in prison or have emigrated. Others who do not go so far as to fear bolshevism, nevertheless, believe that the incapacity of the present government might easily lead to a condition of national chaos, for Primo de Rivera has not behind him the mass support which Mussolini has in Italy, but only a nucleus representing certain interests and devoid of any ideas or constructive program.

Coming now to those who are against the dictatorship, we find that their number has been steadily increasing. They include the greater part of the so-called intellectual class. The most distinguished professors in the universities and 80 per cent of the students oppose the dictatorship. In opposition, too, are the working masses, although their leaders at times have given the impression that their attitude is not as vigorous as is to be expected from a Socialist party. Another element against Primo de Rivera is a large section of the army, as is seen not only in the still undecided struggle he has had to carry on with the Artillery Regiment, but in the military movements of June, 1926, and January, 1929. In the first, the two oldest generals in the army, Capt. Gen. Weyler and Lieut. Gen. Aguilera, took part, while in the second, in addition to the Artillery Regiment, there were involved a large number of commanding Generals and more than twenty infantry regiments.



PROFESSOR BESTEIRO  
Leader of the Spanish Socialist party

This movement failed only because General Castro Girona, Captain General of Valencia, in whose hands its direction was placed, did not keep his word at the last moment.

This second military movement led to a prosecution which has been one of Primo de Rivera's greatest political blunders. The leading figure at the trial at Valencia a few weeks ago was Sanchez Guerra, leader of the Conservative party and a former Prime Minister. At the end of the Summer of 1927 he had gone into voluntary exile in Paris as a protest against the King's decree summoning the so-called National Assembly, a sham parliament all of whose members were appointed by royal decree, thus striking still another blow at the constitution. At the invitation of a section of the army, Guerra left Paris for Valencia in readiness to place himself at the head of a national movement for which he was assured the country was ripe and which had no other purpose than the restoration of the nation's legal constitution. The movement failed, and Guerra was imprisoned on a warship, where he was kept eight months until he was tried by a court-martial, and in October—much to Primo de Rivera's disappointment—acquitted. In spite of the rigorous press censorship, which has not even allowed the matter to be mentioned, the speeches of the lawyers for the defense, which constitute an indictment of the dictatorship, have been circulated in pamphlet form throughout Spain.

#### GUERRA'S POPULARITY

Guerra, however, was not set free. Because the Captain General of Valencia did not approve of certain of the proceedings at the court-martial, Guerra has now to go on trial again before a supreme court-martial. The unfavorable impression created in Spain and abroad by the spectacle of a former Prime Minister and leader of the Conservative party being held a prisoner on a warship for eight months awaiting trial, and again after his acquittal, finally led Primo de Rivera to

place Guerra temporarily at liberty. But this has caused the dictator fresh embarrassments. Wherever Guerra appears in Madrid crowds gather to cheer him. This is not because he is the ideal leader of the opposition to the dictatorship. In fact, his previous career was distinctly that of a reactionary, as he showed when, as Home Secretary, he suppressed the strike of 1917 with far more severity than was needed. But "Hurrah for Guerra!" as a rallying cry is today equivalent to "Down with the Dictatorship!"—and that is what the crowds mean.

#### JURISTS' PROTEST

Another sign of protest was that of the Madrid College for Lawyers which, when invited to select three representatives to the National Assembly, chose just the three who have most conspicuously stood out against the dictatorship—Sanchez Guerra, Santiago Alba and Eduardo Ortega y Gasset. Valladolid University likewise elected Professor Unamuno, now an exile at Hendaye on the Franco-Spanish frontier. The Academy of Jurisprudence refused to select a representative on the ground that, as its duty was to maintain respect for law, it could not countenance a body such as the National Assembly whose very existence was a violation of the constitution. For this plain speaking Primo de Rivera abolished the Academy of Jurisprudence and replaced it by an official body in the service of the government. Nor have the Socialist party and the Workers Union been anxious to be represented in the National Assembly. Primo de Rivera's plan to include a couple of dozen members from those and other organizations has so completely failed that the Assembly, which should have convened in October, has not yet met and it is not known even now when it will meet, if ever it does at all.

A few weeks ago an intensification of the dictatorship was announced, but already the government has swung around, and discarding its proposed



imitation of Italian Fascism, now appears anxious to hold elections—for the municipal councils in February, for the provincial assemblies in April and for Parliament in the Summer. But this program presents new difficulties. How can electioneering take place without free speech and an uncensored press, and how can these things be permitted without the accumulated criticism of six years pouring forth in an avalanche of accusation against the dictatorship?

#### THE OUTLOOK

All Spain is asking how long the dictatorship will last. There is no doubt that Primo de Rivera's position has weakened considerably in recent months. Knowing this, he is looking for a new line of policy. Up to a short time ago the government was distinguished by its lack of a definite program and was rather a government of arbitrariness and caprice than of actual violence. After Guerra's acquittal Primo de Rivera announced his withdrawal of the promise he had made to retire at an early date and that, since the conditions which he had come into power to destroy were again in evidence, the dictatorship would be strengthened. This was interpreted as an impending application of Fascist methods. But the threat has not resulted in any fundamental political

change, nor is it likely that it would prove effective if the experiment were tried. The Spanish people have tolerated the dictatorship with an amused indifference so long as it has not gone to extremes, but should the government attempt to follow Mussolini's example, it would be with different results from those in Italy. Mussolini's achievement, whether we approve of it or not, has after all been in keeping to some extent with Italian history and tradition, and Mussolini himself has a strong and enthusiastic band of supporters. In Spain, on the other hand, the dictatorship can point to very few genuine accomplishments and it has not succeeded in inspiring either loyalty or respect.

And so the future of Spain remains a riddle. The dictatorship may go on another couple of years in the same way as it has, or it may collapse at any moment. The one thing that is certain is that the day, whether close at hand or far off, when the change comes, it will be only by a miracle that the monarchy will survive the upheaval.

Madrid, Dec. 10, 1929.

[Since the above was written, various reports have come to hand of further developments in the Spanish situation, as will be seen in the survey of the month's events by Professor Eloise Ellery in another section further on in this magazine.]

# *The First Seven Years of the Irish Free State*

By *BOLTON C. WALLER*

DIRECTOR, IRISH LEAGUE OF NATIONS ASSOCIATION

**S**EVEN YEARS have now passed since the proclamation of the constitution of the Irish Free State on Dec. 6, 1922, and the first meeting of the Free State Parliament, as such, on that same day. In this period a remarkable change has been brought about, for upheaval has given way to tranquillity, and the Free State has apparently settled down to solve its problems in an orderly and peaceful manner.

Two years ago the prediction was made that Fianna Fail, Eamon de Valera's party in the politics of the Irish Free State, which had recently entered the Dail, would be found playing the part of a constitutional rather than a merely wrecking Opposition, and that President Cosgrave's Government, in spite of its very tenuous majority, would succeed in maintaining itself in office for a considerable period. This prediction has been completely borne out by events. Except for creating occasional disturbances the Fianna Fail Deputies have adopted the constitutional rôle, and in spite of narrow divisions, and even defeats on minor issues, the government has seldom seemed in real danger of being turned out. Indeed, it has been allowed so easy a time as to create doubts whether Fianna Fail really desires to take office at present.

Thus, after much upheaval and excitement, the Irish Free State has had two tranquil and even dull years, but this does not mean that the period has been featureless. On the contrary, many interesting developments have taken place in Irish institutions. In

the Autumn of 1927 Parliament became for the first time fully representative of the country, if we except a small section of irreconcilable Republicans. It had to function under new conditions. There was now inside the Dail a powerful Opposition, capable of meeting the government party on very nearly equal terms, numerically. Debates inevitably became longer and more heated. On various occasions there have been prolonged and rather fruitless passages at arms over the treaty which created the Free State and over the split that followed the treaty.

The Opposition has continued to declare that it does not accept the Free State and intends to work steadily for complete separation from the British Commonwealth. As a preliminary it proposes to abolish the oath of allegiance to the King and Constitution now demanded of Deputies. Its most definite move in this direction was the attempt, in the Spring of 1928, to set in motion machinery for a popular initiative, thus enabling a referendum to be held on the subject of the oath. The government countered this move by passing legislation eliminating the referendum and initiative from the Constitution. Though this caused an outcry in Opposition circles, it was received with great calmness by the country as a whole, which has shown a marked disinclination to employ what are regarded as "new-fangled" pieces of constitutional machinery. The intention of Fianna Fail to abolish the oath still stands. So does its in-

tention to work for an independent republic. But statements of its leaders, including de Valera himself, indicate that they would not propose, if returned to power, to tear up the treaty of 1921 at the risk of another upheaval and conflict with Great Britain, but would work for their ultimate end through gradual and peaceful stages. This change in Fianna Fail's policy, from violent to constitutional action, is clearly in accord with the temper of the country, which is averse to further upsets and adventures.

#### DE VALERA AS PARLIAMENTARIAN

Meanwhile, the ordinary business of the Dail and Senate has proceeded, the Opposition adopting a severely critical, but not obstructive, rôle in discussions of the ordinary legislative, administrative and financial matters. It cannot be said that the Fianna Fail leader has been a success in the parliamentary arena. De Valera's power and influence have depended partly on his success as a popular orator and agitator, partly on the romance attached to his name as leader in the struggle against Great Britain. But these things avail him little on the floor of the House. There his weaknesses are fully apparent—his doctrinaire love of abstract points, his lack of grasp of practical details of legislation or administration, his slowness of perception and his overweening belief in his own rightness. It is said that he keeps a particularly tight grip upon his subordinates, permitting them little initiative, this also preventing the party's success in the Dail. Some of its younger members have, however, come steadily to the front, especially Deputies Lemass and Routledge. But, taken as a whole, Fianna Fail has not proved a competent parliamentary fighting force.

President Cosgrave and his colleagues in the government are by no means supermen, and the loss to their counsels of the late Kevin O'Higgins's broad and statesmanlike outlook has been all too apparent on many occasions since his death. But in parliamentary strategy and tactics they have

shown themselves more than a match for the Opposition, as also in their grasp of practical affairs. Most of them have now been a long while in office, and have experience of the details of administration which their opponents lack. They are better informed, and have more skilled debaters. At a time when the country desires to proceed with practical business rather than to indulge in theoretical controversy these qualities stand them in good stead. The entry of the Fianna Fail Deputies into the Dail two years ago has undoubtedly resulted in a gradual lessening of the political tension and an appeasement of the bitterness which previously poisoned Irish political life.

The main attention of Parliament has been directed to economic matters. Here the chief practical difference between the government and the Opposition has been on the subject of tariffs. The government believes in protecting Irish industries where the need and advantage of protection have been established, by means of thorough investigation before the statutory Tariff Commission, and by degrees a number of duties have been imposed. Fianna Fail considers this policy far too slow and hesitating. It believes in the introduction, as swiftly as may be, of a high general protective tariff, on the ground that the country should be as far as possible self-contained and self-supporting, both for the welfare of its inhabitants and in order to end its economic dependence on Great Britain. How Ireland is to continue to dispose of her agricultural products abroad while taking nothing in return is unexplained. More important is the question how our farmers—much the largest class of producers—would fare under a system of high protection. Their business is not one which can benefit by tariffs to any great extent. If the cost of living is raised through increased prices of manufactures, while no higher prices can be obtained for their exported products, their condition will become decidedly worse.

The policy of the government has been to assist appropriate industries

by tariffs, while helping agriculture by other methods. There is now in progress what may be called, to use the now popular phrase, a "rationalization" of agriculture. The process has many sides—improvement of the quality of live stock; elimination of waste in the creamery business through co-operation; improvement of dairy products and regulation of exports; the application of science; and the establishment of factories, for example, in the beet sugar industry. This agricultural reorganization has unfortunately had to be carried out at a time when agriculture the world over has been suffering from depression, when also, owing to the industrial conditions in Great Britain, there has been a smaller demand than usual for Irish products in Ireland's chief market. In these circumstances results are not yet fully apparent. But there is no doubt that agriculture has been set on a much sounder footing, and that the Free State will be in a position to take advantage of its opportunities as soon as more favorable conditions begin to prevail.

Both for industry and agriculture much depends upon the introduction of hydro-electric power. The great plant on the Shannon has begun to operate. It is already supplying a considerable proportion of the electricity of the country and very soon will be connected with the whole of the Free State's industries. Technically and scientifically the enterprise is already a success. Whether it will prove a positive business and financial success depends upon the extent to which the people will learn to use electricity for domestic purposes, upon its introduction into farming processes, and upon the establishment of new industries.

The economic condition of the Free State, urban or rural, is not satisfactory. Agriculture is still depressed for the reasons already stated, and industries are slow to develop. There is a large army of unemployed, many of whom are living in great misery. Nevertheless, conditions are improving. Several recent enterprises are work-

ing successfully, notably the Ford tractor works in Cork. The adverse balance of trade has been greatly reduced. The national revenue shows an expansion. The figures of emigration from the country have dropped substantially. Thus, the Irish Free State is the only European country which, for the year ended June 30, 1929, did not send its full quota of emigrants to the United States. The figures for the present year, up to date, show a still further decline. Though the quota allowed to the Free State under the national origins plan has been substantially reduced, it is unlikely that even that figure will be reached. These facts indicate, if not real prosperity, at least progress toward it.

#### Gaelic Language Controversy

In the cultural sphere, a more prolonged controversy has been taking place with regard to the government's language policy. The Gaelic language has for some time been compulsory in the elementary schools, and is by now, in effect, compulsory in the secondary schools, while one step after another is being taken to make it obligatory in various fields of activity. In the Spring of 1929 an act was passed making Gaelic necessary for all who enter the legal profession, though this is not to be operative for some years, giving those who intend to become barristers or solicitors time to learn the language. For civil service positions it is already necessary. Efforts are being made to turn University College, Galway (Ireland's most westerly college, and close to Gaelic-speaking districts), into an entirely Irish-speaking institution of higher education.

Though the Gaelicizing policy is being consistently carried forward, there are grave obstacles to its success. In the schools and colleges, for example, there is an absence of suitable textbooks in Gaelic. Weighty arguments are continually being urged against the language, it being pointed out that children are being given only a smattering at the expense of the rest of



their education, that Gaelic has little more than a sentimental value, and that compulsion ought not to be used in matters of this kind. On the other side, it is argued that, though there may be some dislocation in educational matters at present, that is merely temporary; that a bilingual education will eventually prove advantageous in sharpening wits and giving a wider outlook; and that the extension of Gaelic throughout the State is the most important of all things from a national point of view.

One objection to the language policy, however, remains up to the present unanswered—namely, that the use of Gaelic tends steadily toward perpetuating the division of the country into two sections. Given a Gaelic-speaking South and an English-speaking North, Ireland would be two nations as never before. There is no indication that the Northern Protestant population would ever accept Gaelic, and at present the fear of having to agree to "compulsory Irish" is one of the strongest reasons why the North fights shy of reunion with the Free State.

Indeed, while there is much that is encouraging in present developments, the most important of all Ireland's political problems, the reunion of a sun-dered country, is no nearer solution. Few of the Free State leaders seem to pay the slightest attention to it. Each section of the country goes its own way without regard to the other. No party has a constructive policy for bridging the gulf. While many links exist, many forces tend to drive the two parts of the country further apart. Yet it is doubtful whether genuine prosperity can come to Ireland while division continues.

As to the Irish Free State's external relations in the past, the term has referred to its attitude toward Great Britain and nothing else. For example, one of the questions expected to arouse strenuous debate at the approaching British Imperial Conference of 1930 is the demand by the Free State that the right of appeal from a Supreme Court of a Dominion to the Judicial Commit-



The Irish Free State, as proclaimed in 1922

tee of the Privy Council be abolished, on the grounds that it is a survival of the old Whitehall domination in imperial affairs, of the old theory of central rule, and that it restricts the sovereignty of the Dominions. This demand is opposed because it would abolish one of the prerogatives of the King-in-Council and break one of the strongest links that bind the empire together, "the golden link of the crown." In reply to this, it is urged that the demand is not that there be no final court of appeal for the Dominions, but merely that the Judicial Committee does not possess the proper qualifications. Two recent decisions which reversed the decisions of the Supreme Court of the Free State were interpreted as hostile to Irish nationalism. In the Senate on Nov. 21, Mr. Blythe, the Free State Minister of Finance, stated that the government is determined to abolish the right of appeal to the Privy Council, that the Attorney General of the Free State would not again appear before the Judicial Committee, and that should the council in the future reverse any decision of the Free State Supreme

Court, the government would try every means to render the decision null and void. This attack aroused considerable comment in the House of Lords, but in a debate on Dec. 3 it was decided that the Irish Free State was perfectly within its rights in an attempt to change by constitutional means any constitutional provision it did not like.

#### INTERNATIONAL POLICY

Apart from such questions as these, there has been in the last few years a decided growth of interest in the affairs of the rest of the world, with an increasing realization that Ireland can have a voice and an influence in those affairs. Though in a sense isolated, "an island beyond an island," as has been said, Ireland is from another point of view in an important position on one of the world's main trade routes. It is the nearest to America of European countries, and may prove to be the most suitable terminus for transatlantic air services of the future. With the United States Ireland has many racial as well as geographical links. In the event of a war fought across the Atlantic there is no country so likely to suffer so severely. On the other hand, Ireland may be able to do much to remove the possibility of such a calamity by acting as a friendly link between Europe and America. Ireland has, therefore, followed with increasing attention the various negotiations and measures designed to establish better international relations. The Kellogg pact was warmly welcomed, and Mr. Kellogg himself was most cordially received in Dublin when there on his way home after the signature of the pact in Paris.

The Irish Free State's chief means of expression on external affairs is through the League of Nations. Since it entered the League in 1923, its membership of the League has come to loom more and more important. To the

Assembly of 1928 and that of 1929 the Free State sent strong delegations which played an active part in the general proceedings. Particular importance attached in 1929 to the question of signature of the optional clause of the World Court statute. The Free State Government has long declared its readiness to sign, but withheld action until after further consultation with the other States of the British Commonwealth. Agreement to sign was reached between them at Geneva. Divergent views were held, however, as to whether disputes between States of the Commonwealth themselves should be brought compulsorily before the Court or not, in the event the Irish Free State signed the clause unconditionally, while Great Britain and the other dominions made a reservation ruling out such interdominion disputes. The Irish Free State has thus aligned itself with those countries which are ready to accept the full jurisdiction of the World Court with regard to all matters with which the Court can suitably deal.

Since the last Assembly meetings, the Irish Free State has officially announced that this year it will be a candidate for one of the temporary seats on the Council of the League. If successful, the Free State will secure greater influence and also incur greater responsibility in regard to the conduct of the world's larger affairs during the following three years. The Irish are learning steadily that through membership in the League, a small country not merely gains practical advantages through sharing its cooperative activities and through the many contacts which it makes, but is also able, if it exerts itself, to become an influence in general world affairs such as it could never have been previously and cannot be today through any other means.

DUBLIN.

# Legalized Lobbying in Europe

By E. PENDLETON HERRING

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THE MOVE initiated by President Hoover whereby business, labor and agriculture are to lend their aid and advice through a national economic council finds parallels in many European countries. Viewed in its wider implications, it is but part of a world-wide trend toward the official inclusion of economic interests within the ambit of the government. The President is not embarking upon an uncharted sea; rather he is following a lane already navigated by many a foreign ship of State.

Modern industrialized communities have awakened to the inadequacy of the orthodox representative system. The interpenetration of politics and economics has created situations demanding new solutions. In this country, for example, the recent tariff difficulties and the accompanying lobby investigation serve to indicate that when Congress is confronted with an involved and technical piece of economic legislation the existing lawmaking machinery is strained to the utmost.

While the United States has stood almost alone in ignoring officially the force of economic opinion as a factor in government, many other nations, in order to meet complex economic questions that strain their political resources, have established instrumentalities to supplement their parliaments. In greater or less degree steps have been taken to provide that the chief organized occupational groups may make their voice heard when the government has their interests under consideration. Simply put, there has developed abroad, within the last decade, a system whereby the lobbies of

economic and social interest have been recognized and given a place in the lawmaking process.

In Europe the lobby has been put to work. Here it has been legally ignored except when the Senate drags a few of its members to light and subjects them to the glare of unfavorable publicity. While the legislative branch is busy rebuking the lobby, the White House welcomes the representatives of special interests. The Senate subjects them to an inquisition; the President forms them into an advisory body. In view of such a divided attitude, perhaps the experience of European countries in handling similar forces may have something to offer. The inception of an economic council in this country makes the European experiments with analogous institutions of more than academic interest.

Economic representation has been attempted through parliaments of industry or advisory councils composed of the representatives of chambers of commerce, labor unions, trade associations, professional societies and similar occupational groupings. Government employes and consumers' leagues are also usually included. Although there is some variation in the means employed, the general principle of functional representation has been accorded a wide recognition. Under one or another form of legal institution, agencies exist for this purpose in Germany, France, Czechoslovakia and Italy. The principle has been recognized in Yugoslavia, Poland, Danzig, Estonia, Latvia, Portugal, Spain, Norway, Russia, Japan, Turkey and Mexico. Lord Melchett (formerly Sir Alfred Mond) has been one of the leading captains of

industry to suggest occupational representation in Great Britain.

A number of reasons may be cited in explanation of this remarkable development. The unrest left by the war and the distrust in parliamentarianism; the feeling that the political legislature was not adequate to cope with the complexity of economic and social problems; the need for greater unity among the Ministerial departments and the lack of harmony among capital, labor and other groups within the State; the technical character of the problems crying for solution—such a state of affairs suggested that an agency joining under its penumbra the important but divergent economic interests of the nation and harnessing their restless energy to the machinery of government might have a salutary effect on the public and at the same time act as a material aid to the State in setting its house in order. Such were the expectations.

#### THE NEW COUNCILS

These councils have now been in existence long enough to be partially tested. What of the high hopes of those who framed the new Constitutions of the war-reformed governments of Europe? In several instances the provisions made in the fundamental law have remained mere paper proposals. This is the case in Yugoslavia, for example. On the other hand, Germany and France have both set up agencies for economic representation. It is the operation of these bodies that may have most to contribute toward an understanding of the meaning of functional representation at the present time.

The formal recognition of economic and occupational groups was introduced into modern government by the Germans. In fact, Bismarck in 1881 advocated the establishment of a National Economic Council (*Reichsvolkswirtschaftsrat*) that was to act as an expert advisory body. In practice it amounted to little. The present German industrial parliament must be explained in terms of the time in which it came

into being. The presence of soldiers and workers' councils all over Germany at the period of the revolution indicated the strength of the element actuated by Soviet ideas. The Constitution makers were forced to give some heed to the concept of "councils," if only as a palliative to the Communists. There was also a feeling that the government would be aided in its staggering task of reform and economic rehabilitation by a permanent body of experts.

Economic representation was written into the fundamental law. According to Article 165 of the Constitution of the Reich, wage earners are qualified to cooperate on equal terms with their employers in the regulation of wages and working conditions, as well as in the development of productive enterprise generally. This is to be accomplished through the medium of local and district workers' councils, which shall meet together with the representatives of the employers and with other interested persons for the purpose of performing their joint economic tasks. A National Economic Council crowns the structure of local and district councils. Within these bodies all substantial vocational groups are to be represented according to their economic and social importance.

To this end it is provided that drafts of laws of fundamental importance relating to social and economic policy before being introduced into the Reichstag shall be submitted by the Cabinet to the National Economic Council for consideration. This advisory council may also, under the Constitution, take the initiative in proposing the enactment of such measures into law. Even if the Cabinet disapprove the measures, it shall nevertheless introduce them into the Reichstag, accompanied by a statement of its own position. The National Economic Council has the further constitutional right to have its own proposals introduced by its own members before the Reichstag.

Through these provisions the most ambitious attempt toward economic



representation has been propounded, but the constitutional clauses are not self-executing. The full potentialities of the council have by no means been realized. There is a great difference between the constitutional National Economic Council and the provisional one instituted by an ordinance of May 4, 1920. Most striking perhaps is the incompleteness of the hierarchy of local and district councils. It is recognized that if such bodies are to have any vitality they must grow spontaneously in their respective regions in answer to needs felt for their existence. Thus far, the workers' councils have turned out to be only factory organs with little interest in assuming broader significance as quasi-governmental agencies. Likewise the employers' organizations work through the political parties rather than beside them as independent organisms. The National Economic Council itself does not possess a position as influential as that envisaged by the Constitution. For example, if it differs from the Cabinet upon a bill it cannot present its case directly to the Reichstag over the head of the government. In fact, the provisional council is to be regarded not as an industrial parliament but rather as a council of technicians designed to advise the government upon important economic problems. At the same time the council is ostensibly a representative body, though now its chief function is advisory. The composition of the present provisional *Reichswirtschaftsrat* is indicated in the following table of groups, with the number of representatives in each:

1. Agriculture and forestry.....	68
2. Horticulture and fishing.....	6
3. Industry .....	68
4. Commerce, banking and insurance..	44
5. Transportation and public works....	34
6. Trades .....	36
7. Consumers .....	30
8. Civil servants and the liberal professions .....	16
9. Persons especially qualified to represent the economic life of different parts of the country, selected by the Reichsrat .....	12
10. Persons appointed at large by the government .....	12

The delegates to this council are recruited from their respective trade

and professional associations. Before any system of functional representation can be undertaken there must be present the consciousness of class that brings about associational combination. Germany is highly organized industrially.

#### PROPOSED GERMAN DEVELOPMENT

The table given above illustrates the composition of the temporary council, but a bill is now being considered to establish a permanent council upon a firm legal basis. If the proposed law is passed, the existing council membership of 326 is to be reduced to 123. Several representatives are to be appointed from the cities, three to be named by the large cities and one by the smaller towns. Another innovation in the composition is to be the presence of temporary members called in for consultation on special projects. The *Reichswirtschaftsrat* will be the agency for making investigations, and the government will entrust all economic inquiries to it. The authority of the council will be increased to allow the body greater freedom in the initiation and formulation of laws. If this proposed law is passed it will be largely due to recognition of the work done by the provisional council.

Since 1923 the National Economic Council has not met in plenary session. Much work none the less has been accomplished, but this has been done through committees rather than through the council as a whole. Little publicity has been given the work, for the simple reason that the matters undertaken are of a technical character and not the sort to interest the casual reader. The council has been quietly busy.

Opinions have been given on more than 300 proposed governmental projects. The range has been over a wide field of miscellaneous problems, of which the following are examples: Tax reform, the liquor monopoly, concessions to the match industry, industrial protection, taxation of motor power, taxation of war-damaged property and the tobacco tax. With regard to social

problems, investigations have dealt with accident insurance, the regulation of hours of employment and the protection of workers in industry. The council has also given an opinion concerning the advancement of credit toward the construction of small dwellings. These are but instances in the long list of questions which the council has studied. Its reports have doubtless had some influence, but how much it is impossible definitely to state. Under the new law the initiatory power of the council is to be increased. It may have the power to suggest legislation either through presenting its opinion on a bill to the Reichstag or through sending a representative there. Then the political body must determine how these suggestions are to be acted upon. At any rate, many believe that the present relations between economic groups and the government leave much to be desired.

#### DEALING WITH THE INTERESTS

It is stated that party leaders in the Reichstag, as well as high administrative officials, have not yet learned the technique of dealing with the interests. As matters stand, it is largely through the accident of personal acquaintance that these groups can approach the leaders in government. It is thus that the "button-holding" is achieved. Since the political parliament does not make adequate provision for hearing and considering group pleas, there is a place for an agency such as the National Economic Council. It has at least one useful function in that, by getting together the representatives of conflicting interests, it forces them to state their position clearly and to attempt an elimination of their differences. This must be accomplished if the council is to have any unified policy. Before the attitude of the economic forces of the nation can be expressed the component parts must agree upon a policy.

Turning from Germany to Italy, we find that in so far as the formal institutional arrangements are concerned the Italians have given even greater

recognition to the rights of economics to a voice in politics. But government by dictatorship distorts institutional arrangements. For this reason an accurate evaluation is practically impossible.

The Fascisti have provided for the closer union of the State and industry through the organization of syndicates. Fascist syndicates and these alone can constitute the organizations representing the various economic groups of the country. They are grouped into one or another of thirteen national confederations. Employers and employees have separate leagues. To serve as a political unifying agency among these divergent groups there is the Ministry of Corporations. Its work is carried on through provincial economic councils and the National Council of Corporations, which brings together representatives of confederations, experts and party officials.

An even more arresting instance of the interrelation of politics and economics in Italy is the Corporate Parliament. Under the new electoral law the confederations of syndicates nominate a panel of 800 representatives. From this list the Ministry of Corporations and the Grand Council of the Fascist party select 400 names, which are submitted to the electorate for approval or rejection in their entirety. Should the verdict be rejected, a means is provided for the nomination of a new list by the syndicate confederations. The panel of those agreed to constitutes the membership of the lower house of Parliament. The basis of the political representation in Italy may be regarded as functional, but in terms of Fascist dominance.

A glance at France reveals developments similar to those in Italy and Germany. Actuated by a desire to unite in a close solidarity all the productive and social forces of the nation, the government has created under the presidency of the Cabinet an organization destined to study the chief questions concerning the economic life of the country. Among those who find a justification for the establishment of a national eco-

nomic council is former Premier Edouard Herriot. In the first place, he points out that the complexity of economic and social life is so great that the different departments of the government whose task it is to control or develop the economic life of the nation have insufficient contacts between one another. In the second place, the importance of the economic interests is so vital that the government ought to utilize the advice of those who are competent technicians and who are also spokesmen of the great occupational groups. His attitude, in fine, is strikingly akin to that of President Hoover, who seems to have the same general purposes in view. Both are concerned with a purely advisory council designed for the exchange of views among the representatives of agriculture, business and labor, and for cooperation with the government.

A decree of Jan. 16, 1925, charges the French council with the task of studying national economic problems, seeking solutions and presenting its recommendations to the public authorities. The forty-seven members of the council are distributed among the various groups in the following manner:

I. Consumers and the public:	
Consumers' cooperative societies..	3
Users of public utilities.....	2
Associations of Mayors, municipalities .....	2
Fathers and mothers of families..	2
II. Labor:	
Intellectual work and instruction.	3
Work of management and direction:	
Industry .....	3
Agriculture .....	3
Commerce .....	2
Transportation .....	1
Cooperation .....	1
Public utilities.....	1
Employees:	
Civil servants.....	2
Technicians .....	2
Laborers:	
Industry .....	5
Commerce .....	2
Agriculture .....	1
Transportation .....	2
Artisans, skilled trades (urban and rural) .....	2
III. Capital:	
Industrial and commercial capital.	3
Fixed capital, urban and rural property .....	2
Exchange banks, trust companies and savings banks.....	3

In each of the three main categories

the most representative organizations have been charged by a decree of April 9, 1925, with the duty of designating their representatives. The president of the council merely gives his sanction to their selections.

In theory at least the French National Economic Council holds four ordinary sessions each year, but it can be convoked by the president of the council or upon the initiative of the secretariat. This latter body, known as the Permanent Commission, carries on the day-to-day work of the council and is an indispensable element. No council could function without some such organization. Most of the work of the council is performed by committees. It is the duty of the secretariat to take the reports of these committees, work over their researches and put their solutions in suitable form. The Permanent Commission groups together within its ambit representative members of the council. It is the larger body in miniature. Its frequent meetings and common deliberations have created an atmosphere which encourages the rapprochement of diverse points of view.

In fact, it is this tendency toward conciliation in the council itself that largely justifies its existence. Between producers in industry and in agriculture, between laborers and employers, between consumers, cooperatives and producers, carriers and shippers, between intellectual and manual workers the council provides a medium through which they may discuss their divergent interests. Moreover, the periodical meeting of the representatives of various groups around the same table, their constantly working in common, the collective responsibilities of their deliberations, tends to establish ties. This community of effort makes for an interpenetration of interests.

The first deliberations of the French council were devoted to the housing problem, and after elaborate hearings and consultation with experts in the course of thirty committee meetings a very detailed report was submitted outlining to Parliament all the elements necessary for a definite solution. An

exhaustive inquiry was next undertaken into the general problems of national production. More than thirty reports have been adopted in the course of the sessions held during 1927-28. They deal with matters so varied as tourist travel and electrical distribution, maritime ports and rural life, agriculture in Algeria and radiotelegraphy in France. The council is now embarking upon an ambitious investigation of the general economic situation of the country. Though one may point to the inquiries of this body, it is possible to indicate a series of direct and tangible accomplishments resulting from them. The French are no more contented than the Germans with their system of economic representation in its present form. A reorganization is planned providing for a council of 150 members instead of 47. The council will eschew the prerogatives of representation and the responsibilities of legislation and will remain purely consultative in character.

#### CZECHOSLOVAK ADVISORY BODY

As the name implies, the Advisory Board for Economic Questions of Czechoslovakia is likewise an instrumentality of the consultative type. It is composed of 150 members, 60 of whom speak for industry and capital, 60 for labor and 30 for the liberal professions, the economists being especially strong. The work is done largely through standing committees. Provision is made for close cooperation with the political parliament. The general similarity of this body to the economic councils, already described, emphasizes the fact that despite initial differences a uniform system is developing. The councils all arose in answer to virtually the same needs; they have somewhat the same general powers, and the laws pending would bring them also into a numerical equality. The same broad conclusions can be applied to all of them alike.

The high hopes held of economic councils have certainly not been realized in Europe. Even their most ardent supporters would reorganize the pres-

ent advisory bodies and thereby perhaps infuse new life into them. Others, thinking that the councils have proved their ineptness, would let them die of innocuous desuetude. There is an element of paradox in their existence. For them to be created there must first be a highly organized industrial community; but here trade bodies and labor unions are sufficient representatives of their groups. When these groups desire remedial legislation they are not going to an impotent industrial parliament. They prefer to importune the political assembly directly for legislative favor. Lobbies go directly to the holders of power. They hardly require the intervention of an official council. In fact, the latter may on occasion prove an actual handicap, being jealously viewed as a potential rival by the political legislature. It seems that the conclusion is justified from European experience that a political and an economic parliament are unlikely to function happily side by side. The latter must either replace the lower house, as in Italy, or occupy a subservient position, as in France. The German attempt to make the *Reichswirtschaftsrat* a body of real importance has not proved attainable after ten years.

This conclusion, however, does not preclude the economic council from a part in government. As an expert consultative body it has much to offer. To the legislature and to the administrative departments it may be of material assistance upon problems of technical complexity. To the forces of capital, labor and agriculture it provides a common meeting ground.

The proposed economic council in the United States is significant as a recognition of the rightful place of special interests to a share in government. Beyond this, however, it remains to be seen whether the council will attain any great influence in the industrial and political life of the nation. The experience of Europe would not justify high expectations. The legal joining of politics and economics has thus far not proved an altogether happy or fruitful union. Yet they cannot exist apart.



# *A New Era in the Mississippi Watershed*

By JAMES E. EDMONDS

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PRESIDENT HOOVER, in his address of Oct. 23, 1929, used the fact that it took the United States Government fifty years to canalize the Ohio River as a peg on which to hang a vivid word-picture of an entire Mississippi River system finally safe from floods, harnessed in the transportation service of the nation, and when complete the greatest peace-time undertaking of its kind of any government in any age, representing from first to last an investment of over \$1,500,000,000. If Congress heeds promptly the President and the people of the Mississippi Valley, it will be perhaps ten years before all the work is done and all the money spent—ten years as against the 250 it required to bring into being a nation able to essay the task.

The zone of this vast project is no less than continental. The aggregate length of the main channels to be controlled and governed will be 15,000 miles. They, with their myriad lesser inlets, drain 1,240,050 square miles of land, in a vast sweep from the crests of the Alleghanies to those of the Rockies. Rainfall is contributed by twenty-two States with an area which stretches 1,800 miles from east to west and 1,500 miles from north to south. Each year the dual mouths of the Mississippi discharge into the Gulf of Mexico 160 cubic miles of water, which carries, eroded from farm lands and watersheds, silt enough to fill a mile-square basin to a depth of 300 feet. This outflow is only one-fourth the precipitation within the valley.

Traceable channels of the system

start in the west about 2,300 feet above the sea, and in the east about 1,200 feet. In the rush of these waters to the Gulf, speeded or retarded by the seasons, they fluctuate from high to low, in the alluvial reaches from the Ohio southward at Cairo by 56 feet, at Memphis by 50 feet, at Vicksburg by 60 feet, at Baton Rouge by 45 feet, and at New Orleans, less than 100 miles from the Gulf, by 22 feet. Within fifty years the flood crests, threatening the inundable "plane of the delta," increasingly confined, have mounted higher, by 11 feet at Cairo, 9 feet at Red River, 18 feet at the Arkansas, and 6 feet at New Orleans. In countable flood-losses in a generation the valley, chiefly the lower valley, has suffered the equivalent of the cost of five Panama Canals. In 1927 alone a loss of more than \$500,000,000 in destruction and wastage was sustained.

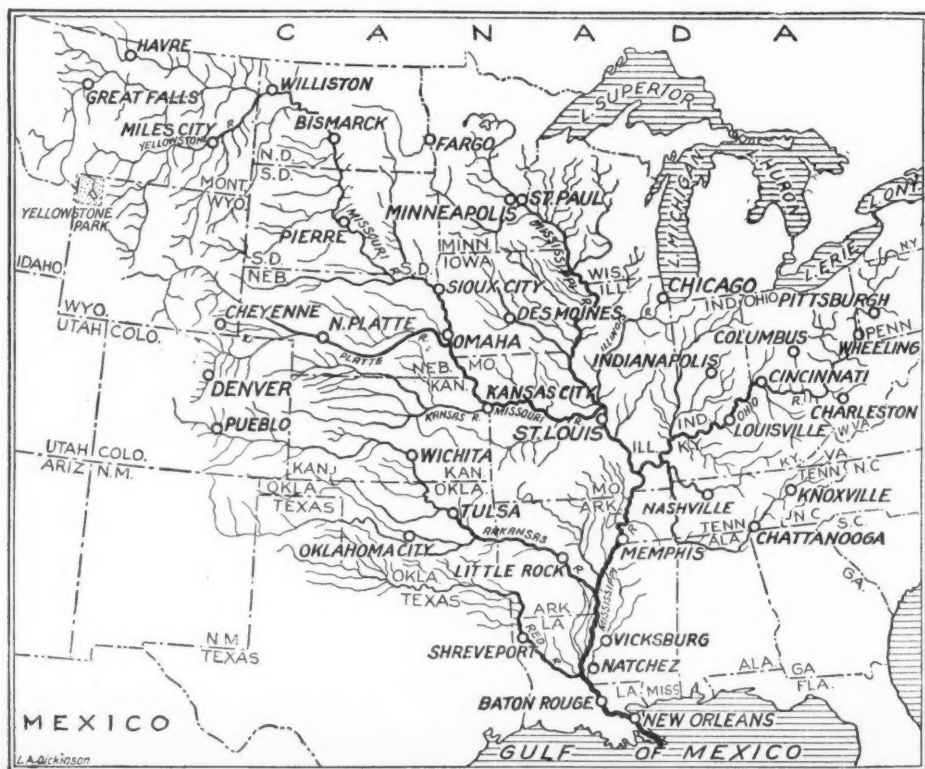
The flood problem affects differently the two sections of the valley, and must be treated differently in each. The Missouri and the Ohio, the Mississippi above Cape Girardeau, and practically all the tributaries, flow through relatively narrow stream beds which have been eroded from the soil of the continental plateau by the action of the waters through the ages. In all this vastly greater part of the Mississippi drainage basin, where the rivers have "cut through," floods come occasionally, go quickly, and while sometimes tragically destructive, are more a local and temporary annoyance than a continuing and region-wide menace. From Cape Girardeau southward, in what was once a deep arm of the sea, are

30,000 square miles of alluvial soil, unbelievably rich, built up through the ages by the Mississippi's and its southern tributaries' gradual and progressive deposit of the surface silt eroded from the upper valleys. Through this region, 700 miles long as the wild duck migrates, 10 to 100 miles wide, the Mississippi moves to the Gulf in a series of flattened letter S bends, with nearly two miles of current for every one mile gained to the sea. Here the flood problem involves the whole issue of the habitableness and use of the land. Save as it is protected for many months of most years, it must be abandoned.

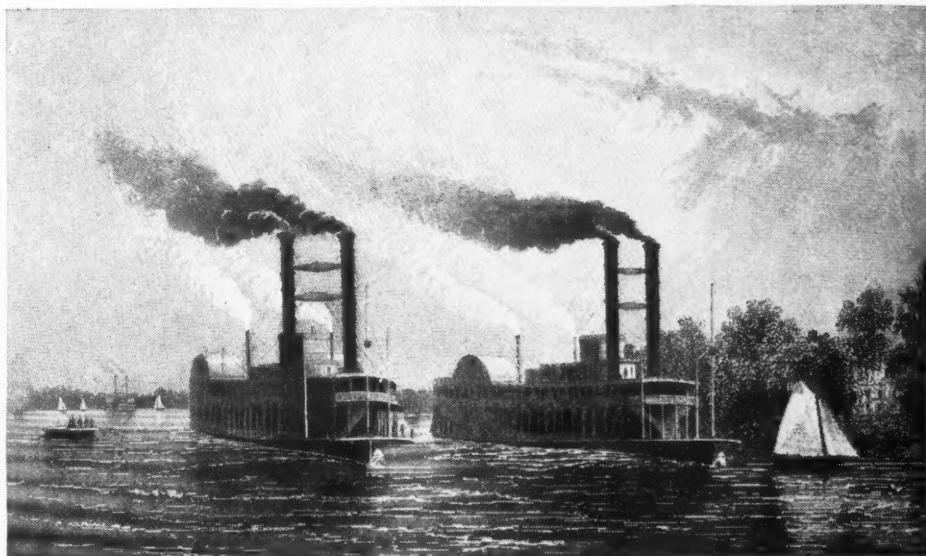
Once, and for a hundred years, officialdom, dominated by the army engineers, held to the policy of levees only for this region on the theory that the confined current of a silt-bearing stream, flowing through a bed of its own making, scours a deeper channel

and so speeds its floods to the sea. Accordingly the one-time low ridges of earth, built by and about villages and farm headquarters, were joined, linked and built ever higher, as the increasingly confined flood crests mounted. Old natural outlets were dammed, ancient by-passes closed, swamps and natural storage basins reclaimed, cleared and put under the plow. Under the logic of increasingly great disaster, officialdom has reversed itself. Now it is "levees-plus-outlets-plus-by-passes-plus-reservoirs," if feasible.

During the Summer and Autumn of 1928 army engineers, under authority of the flood control act of 1928, began assembling data, based upon surveys in all the upper valleys, to ascertain if sites may be found for up-stream reservoirs, in which may be impounded in time of flood enough water to "take something worthwhile off the top" of the crests and hold something back



The Mississippi waterway system



MISSISSIPPI STEAMBOATS IN THE '70S

which may be used to augment the channels for navigation in seasons of drought. This "source stream control" is highly debatable. Army engineers have bitterly opposed it, but they are handling the investigation. It would require reservoirs with 3,000 square miles of surface, water four feet deep, to take two feet off a flood crest in the lower valley.

Levees are still and will always be necessary. So old ones are being rebuilt and enlarged and new ones constructed further back from the river's banks to give wider room for Spring floods to move. New levee lines tend to cut across the bases of letter S bends. They range from fifteen to nearly thirty feet high, according to the natural grade of the land. The average through the valley now is nearly twenty feet; across the top they are twelve feet. The slope of the sides averages six feet for every foot of height. The bottoms are on an average about 240 feet wide. From about opposite the mouth of the Ohio southward almost to the sea, the traveler is seldom out of sight of levee work in progress along a line which will be, when finished, more than 1,500 miles long. Completed, these levees will contain nearly 700,-

000,000 cubic yards of earth, representing an ultimate cost of about \$200,000,000. They are designed now to withstand a recurrence of the flood of 1927.

Thirty miles above New Orleans, on the east bank, a controlled spillway is under construction, from the Mississippi across a five-mile neck of land into Lake Pontchartrain and so to sea-level. Through its floodgates and its leveed width, 250,000 cubic feet of water a second will be diverted in time of flood from the main river, and the height on the lower river held at or below the 1927 levels.

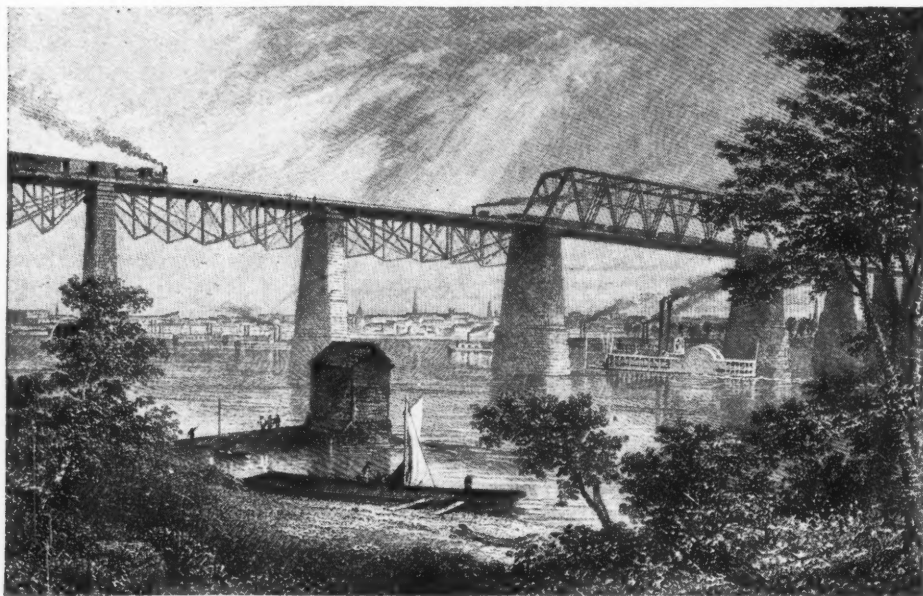
Opposite the mouth of the Ohio it is proposed, by throwing back main levees, to set aside 250 square miles of land in the so-called New Madrid bypass, fifty miles long and about five miles wide, into which, in time of unusual flood, weak levees termed "fuze plug" levees, by breaking, would permit the flood crest to flow and be retarded and diminished. Below the mouth of the Arkansas and White, another by-pass is proposed, through the old natural Boeuf River basin. A "fuze plug" levee, at the old exit of Cypress Creek from the Mississippi, is to be permitted to break in time of exceptional flood, and permit 600,000

cubic feet of water per second to flow, between guide levees, for about a hundred miles through Southeastern Arkansas and Northeastern Louisiana, in the lowlands of the Boeuf River, finally into the Red River. There are about 1,400 square miles of land in the proposed by-pass. The Red River enters the Mississippi and the Atchafalaya River leaves it at the same point, presenting a picture like the juncture of the arms of the letter K, looking at the map from the north toward the Gulf. On both sides of the Atchafalaya, again by the use of "fuze plug" and guide levees, it is proposed to give outlet in time of super-flood to about 1,000,000 cubic feet of water per second, into an area of about 2,500 square miles, much of it now protected and tilled.

Nothing beyond surveying has been done upon these by-pass projects. All are tied up by litigation. All await clarification by Congress of existing legislation as to damages and the final action of the Engineer Corps on debated engineering problems. These by-passes, the setback of existing levee

lines, the abandonment of others about the mouths of various tributaries, would, in effect, surrender forever to the river more than 7,000 square miles of the flood plane to safeguard more effectively the remaining 23,000 square miles. When all the proposed flood works are completed, all demanded damages paid, even if no reservoirs are built, the final cost will be well over \$500,000,000.

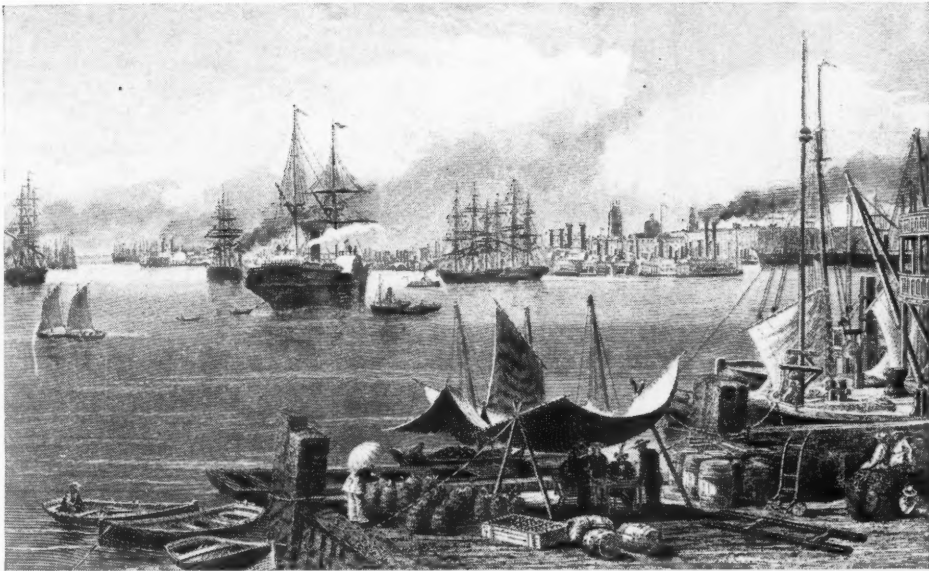
Concurrently, there is in process of completion or preparation for completion a system of navigable channels with the depths found by modern experience to be necessary for economically justifiable transport by water. A nine-foot-deep canal will reverse natural geography and link Lake Michigan with the Mississippi through the Illinois. New locks and dams will give nine feet on the upper Mississippi instead of six feet as at present. A great system of locks, dams, weirs, and dredged and blasted crossings is to furnish a like depth on the Missouri if the pleas of that valley's people are heeded. The Ohio is finished, but the Tennessee, Cumberland, Kentucky, Mo-



LOUISVILLE

A Kentucky centre of transportation in the '70s





THE DOCKS OF NEW ORLEANS

A view of the chief port of the South in 1873

nongahela, Arkansas, White, Black, Ouachita, Yazoo and Red Rivers are yet to be dealt with effectively, as is the Intracoastal Canal, which is to link the Texas and Georgia coasts to the Mississippi system. Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Louisville, Chattanooga, Nashville, Chicago and her sister cities of the Great Lakes basin, Minneapolis, St. Paul and the towns of the upper Mississippi, Sioux City, Council Bluffs, St. Louis, Memphis, Little Rock, Pine Bluff, Shreveport, Alexandria, Vicksburg, Natchez and Baton Rouge are to be linked by usable water and for unbroken cargo down to the sea at New Orleans and so with the markets and sources of Latin America, the Orient and the South Seas. Through the proposed new canal via the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence, they will have their waterway to the Atlantic and to Europe.

The region thus to be protected and served supports nearly half the people of the United States. It is the granary of America. It produces most of the coal, iron and oil. Its various common carriers move each year more than 1,000,000,000 tons of commerce; 200,-

000,000,000 ton-miles of transportation service are exacted, and the freight bill exceeds \$4,000,000,000.

The Mississippi Valley less than 300 years ago was peopled by scattered tribes of skin-clad savages who did not know the uses of a wheel. Spaniards found the valley when men were yet alive who had sailed with Columbus. Frenchmen seized it before the scattered English had more than warmed their hearths along the Atlantic seaboard. It required 158 years, from 1607 to 1765, for the British and the British colonists to advance to the Mississippi and to oust the French, and they permitted Spain to get and hold for a while all beyond the main river and that river's mouth. In forty-five years more, or by 1810, these British colonists had thrown off the rule of their mother country, purchased the revived claims of France, ousted the Spaniards, reached to the Gulf, crossed the Mississippi and looked out to the Pacific from the crests of the Rockies.

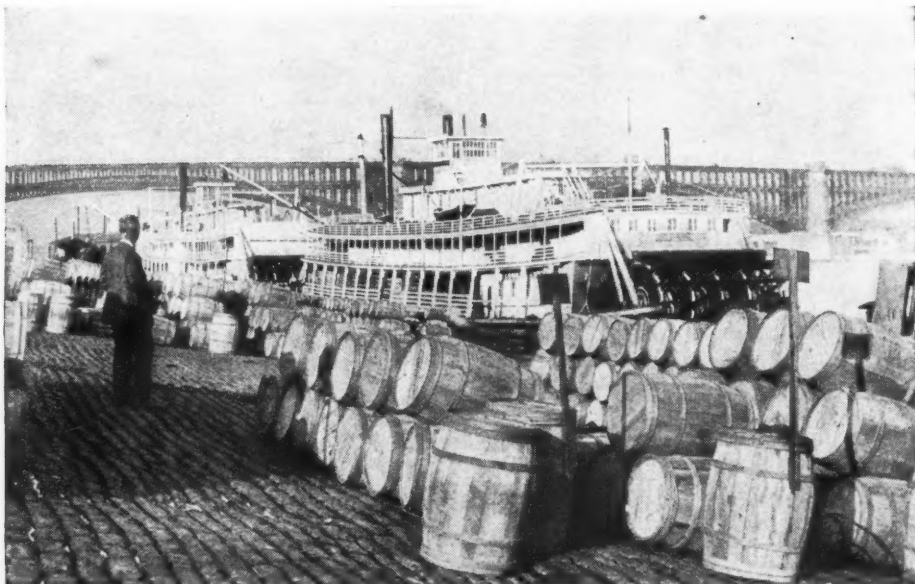
The land was held in fee by a government. It was yet to be occupied by a people. This came to pass by the march of millions in two lifetimes.

Napoleon said, when he approved the Louisiana Purchase Treaty in 1803: "The day may come when this will render the Americans too strong for the Continent of Europe." Livingston, the American commissioner, declared, when he signed the document: "It will prepare ages of happiness for innumerable generations. The Mississippi and the Missouri will see them multiply and succeed one another." But Jefferson himself did not disagree with those of the Atlantic seaboard who feared this vast expansion spelled the doom of the young Union and a division of the nation into two parts—East and West—for he wrote: "I look upon this as a great achievement, to the mass of happiness which is to ensue. Whether we remain in one confederacy or form into the Atlantic and Mississippi confederacies I do not believe important to the happiness of either."

The East then, as sometimes now, feared the new spirit of the West. When in 1809 it was first proposed to admit Louisiana to the Union, old Josiah Quincy of Massachusetts protested to the point of threatening New

England secession, in terms queerly forecasting even some recent utterances from the East about the West. "I have heard," he said, "that the mouth of the Ohio is to be far east of the centre of this contemplated empire. You have no authority to throw the rights and liberties of this people into a hotch-potch with the wild men of the Missouri nor with the mixed race of Anglo-Hispano-Gallo-Americans who bask on the sands at the mouth of the Mississippi." He continued with a lament and a warning to the East that was an unconscious prophecy: "This starts up a gigantic power to control the nation! New States are intended to be formed beyond the Mississippi. There is no limit to men's imaginations short of California and the Columbia River!" While Quincy spoke, the first steamboat ever to ply the "Western waters" was completing her initial voyage from Pittsburgh to New Orleans.

The second war with Great Britain, the final one of many between different nations for the Mississippi Valley, was yet to be won. Soon thereafter the



Ewing Galloway

## MODERN ST. LOUIS

A busy Mississippi River port. The barrels just unloaded contain apples from Illinois



Underwood

## THE MISSISSIPPI RAMPANT

Disastrous floods occurred in 1927. New Iberia, La., shown in this picture, was devastated and its inhabitants forced to flee for their lives

full sweep of the tide of moving population broke over the barriers of the rivers, which presently were teeming with the new craft Fulton invented and Nicholas Roosevelt and Livingston brought to the mid-continent. In a generation more, the mourning Indians, dispossessed after three centuries of struggle, crossed over the "Father of Waters" to the distant West. Europe felt the lure of new, rich lands, cheaply to be had in the upper valley. The "Deep South" cleared fresh acres for cotton with multiplied thousands of slaves. State after State had its star added to the flag. Land booms, boom crashes, feverish speculations, worthless money, bank collapses, paper millions and real bankruptcies, repudiation of debts both public and private, epidemics of cholera and yellow fever, swept the valley. Still the thousands poured in, undistracted by the annexation of Texas, the Mexican War, or the stampede to the California gold fields, to clear the fertile acres, build new towns, found new commonwealths.

All this while the "Western waters" furnished the "Great Highway." The

fleets of river craft, fragile and flimsy as they were, met the needs of the channels as they were found. The economy of the whole interior United States was built upon their use, and about and upon the rivers as nature made and left them. St. Louis became the metropolis of the West, Cincinnati of the Ohio Valley. New Orleans, for a brief period, was the nation's "second city" and its "first port," doing more business with the sea than any other in the Western Hemisphere.

Violently and on the instant, with the thunder of Beauregard's artillery at Sumter, all this was altered. The storm of battle rolled from the mouth of the Ohio to the Gulf, the current and the shores of the Mississippi blood-stained nearly every mile. The Civil War ended, but a whole economic structure and civilization had vanished from the lower valley, and in the upper valley and the Ohio basin farms, factories, cities and countrysides had found a new way to the sea and new trade routes. The era of reconstruction which, for a decade, beat the South deeper into the dust of defeat, was con-

current with the railroad era which witnessed the building of the transcontinental lines of steel and fixed the deep grooves in which commerce was to move on the pathway of the sun instead of that of the seasons.

New tides of immigration swarmed into the upper valley. More land was ditched and drained, forests on the watersheds cut down, the torrents speeded to the sea, while the fleets slowly went the way of wreck and rot. The rivers about which the civilization of the valley had been created, along which the cities had been built, ceased to be economic tools or necessities. Instead they were simply outlets for surplus water and sewage and the dreaded agents of recurrent destruction.

Just when the fleets were vanishing and the floods assumed the measure of a great regional menace began the orgy of pork-barreled, log-rolled expenditures for "public improvements." Worth-while projects could be had of Congress only when coupled with enough of the worthless for the "spread" of expenditures to insure majorities. The land was rich enough to afford the wasted millions. It was too busy or corrupted to think of the eventual need for concerted plan or effective purpose. Thus, by the Summer of 1927 there had been expended from Federal funds upon the Mississippi River system and its connecting canals for "navigation and flood control" about \$622,000,000. That same year the theory and practice of attempted flood control as held to and persisted in by the army engineers from the beginning was shattered and washed away with the broken levees and watery ruin of what Herbert Hoover called the "greatest peace-time disaster in the history of the continent." In that same year the "channels" recognized by Congress as "navigable" had a mileage of 12,254.

Locks and dams numbered 234. Of that vast mileage, less than 1,800 were continuously navigable the year around at depths and widths essential for economic service either supplementary to or competitive with that of the railroads.

#### EFFECT OF THE WAR

It required the tragedy of 1927 to bring a new conception of flood control. So it required the World War to evoke a new idea of the economic uses of the rivers. In the tremendous traffic of 1917 and 1918, the rivers were actually needed, not as mere regulators of rail rates, but for the actual movement of goods. Modern craft were devised, and on the usable channels they proved their worth and ability to serve the mid-continent in its daily business—granted channels of sufficient depth, harbors equipped, interchange compelled between boat and rail as is customary between carriers by land.

Thus, between 1918 and 1927 through the valley grew the demand for a finished system of inland waterways, at last made usable for commerce, made safe for dwellers along its banks, completing a vast net of inland transportation routes in which modern hard-surfaced highways, the lines of steel, the avenues of the air, and the channels of the rivers should all have their part and duty. Others had possessed the vision—Roosevelt in his time, and Francis G. Newlands. Enthusiasts here and there had argued and organized in river towns and cities, but the time had not then come. Hoover, born in a State which Quincy would not have admitted to the Union, elected from a Commonwealth which Quincy could not imagine as more than the tissue of a dream, commits himself and his administration to have that vision wrought into reality.



# *Change Comes to the Appalachian Mountaineer*

By MARY FRENCH CALDWELL

A SOUTHERN MOUNTAIN boy, bearing an opossum as a birthday gift to the President of the United States, focused the attention of the nation on the picturesque subject of the "mountain white." The little community on the Rapidan, in Virginia, from which this boy hailed, a few weeks later was the scene of an informal parley between two Anglo-American chiefs, with the world news organizations turning their spotlights upon it. News articles on the MacDonald visit contained vivid descriptions of the natural beauty of this region and of a people who still use quaint words reminiscent of the Elizabethan era.

Earlier in the season President Hoover and the young mountain boy discussed schools, opossums, elections and things in general with the same grave informality which characterized the conversation with Great Britain's Prime Minister. Who can foretell which parley has greater potentialities for the good of our country, if President Hoover, the government and the people of the United States should give them equal attention. Already, not satisfied with heading a committee to raise \$1,250 to build a schoolhouse for that little community, President Hoover has set in motion the machinery of government to end illiteracy not only in the Southern mountains but throughout the country. On Nov. 16 Secretary of the Interior Wilbur announced with the President's official sanction the appointment of the Advisory Committee on National Illiteracy, consisting of nineteen men and three women, com-

prising educators, legislators, publicists and editors from all parts of the country. Since this undertaking will embrace all elements in our population, it holds out wonderful possibilities. Suppose, for instance, that with literacy foreign-born illiterates should be taught some of the loyalty and patriotism of the so-called "mountain whites." Might not the undeveloped man and woman power of the nation thus be made of use to promote national and international welfare in a manner no less beneficial than the results accruing from new pacts of peace between the nations?

The education of the Anglo-Saxon population of the South is a matter very close to the heart of the nation. These people have in their veins the blood of the builders of the nation, in their minds the native intelligence of the Anglo-Saxon, and in their hearts a deep loyalty to their country and an abiding faith in God. If they are sometimes illiterate, narrow-minded, provincial and a trifle "hide-bound," at least they are not Communists or atheists, and the ease with which their minds may be developed is amazing.

But, as the appointment of the Advisory Committee on National Illiteracy indicates, to give the "mountain whites" full opportunity for development, private educational enterprise is inadequate for the purpose. The ideal of popular education presupposes that it is a government's duty to educate its citizens, and since this is true, the child in the isolated mountain community has as much right to schooling provided by the State as the child in

the city and the rich farming sections. Numbers of mountain schools have been established by women's federated clubs, patriotic organizations, church societies and individuals. Many of them have been successful, but if the effort which has been expended in establishing and maintaining them had been applied to one great, concerted effort to develop a public school system adequate to meet the needs of the people, a large part of the problem would already have been solved.

#### CAUSES OF ILLITERACY

Illiteracy is not always caused by lack of schoolhouses. In fact the boy on the Rapidan lives in a county which has three high schools, seventeen elementary schools for white children and twelve elementary schools for negroes. Where are the young men whose thirst for learning was so great that they went penniless to the nearest schools to "work their way"? Where are the boys who were willing to walk twenty miles to borrow books? Where are the Lincolns who studied by the light of pine torches and used charcoal for pencils? Schooling is not convenient for every family in the nation, but it should not be impossible for ambitious parents to find some way to have their children taught to read and write. Schoolhouses must then be provided and teachers hired for certain classes of people, and truant officers must be sent to compel parents, in the name of the law, to send their children to school. Only by the enforcement of rigid compulsory attendance laws, coupled with financial aid for the poorest families, can illiteracy be eliminated.

The Southern mountain sections do not have adequate school facilities, but a great stride is being made in the right direction. A few years ago there were no passable roads in the mountains, and even today there are many isolated communities. The consolidated school, with the school bus on the highways, is doing much to improve conditions, and the smaller schools, where consolidation is not practicable, are being made more efficient. Teachers'

salaries are being raised; standards are higher and terms are growing longer.

The mountainous sections are hard to reach and still harder to handle after they are reached because of their sparse population and the rugged nature of the country. Reaching these communities is, however, a part of the work of the public school system, and most Southern States are conducting programs which are meeting with great success. Tennessee's new plan provides for a State fund to supplement county funds for educational work, and under it the richer counties have cheerfully submitted to being taxed to provide better school facilities for counties which cannot finance good schools. This plan was accompanied by a law making Tennessee's minimum school term eight months. North Carolina, with a splendid program to combat illiteracy, in addition to her improved schools, is doing important work, and other Southern States have equally ambitious plans in operation. Thus are times changing in the mountains; in fact, change is inevitable, for the processes which will replace the primitive existence common to many mountain communities begin as soon as passable roads establish communication with the outside world. The mountaineer is quick to meet new conditions. When he has a chance to earn money, his family soon adopts the current style, and he acquires a Ford, a radio and a high school education for his children as soon as he is able.

"Poor mountain whites" is the term applied to the dwellers in the Appalachians, and most writers select the illiterate dwellers of one-room, tumble-down log shanties for their portrayals of the mountaineer. Too often they give the impression that only people of this class live in the mountains and adjacent districts, and that entire States have suffered the arrested material development which isolation and a rugged country have forced upon the mountaineer. The late Dr. George R. Stuart, a famous evangelist and lecturer of the Southern Methodist Church, used to tell an amusing story

of one of his visits to Boston to deliver a lecture. At the close of his speech Dr. Stuart was greeted effusively by a lady who had been a member of his audience. "Oh, Dr. Stuart," she pleaded, "do tell us about your poor mountain whites." Replied Dr. Stuart, in his courteous, dignified manner, "Madam, I am one of them." Dr. Stuart was one of the finest examples of the type of man the Anglo-Saxon population of the Southern Appalachians can produce. He was descended from a long line of mountain people, and became one of America's leading pulpit orators.

Dr. Stuart's statement applies not only to men and women who have sprung from mountain families but also to a large portion of the remainder of the population of Tennessee and neighboring States. Even today only a negligible part of the population is foreign-born, or even of foreign extraction. The people who dwell in the fertile valleys and in the cities are of the same stock as the mountain families, but they have had the advantage of broader cultural and material development. Family names are often identical, and, barring the slight difference made by urban polish, types are surprisingly similar. The Scotch-Irish type which was predominant in Andrew Jackson's day has by no means passed away; indeed, it has been touched very little by the great stream of immigration which has flooded other parts of the country and has almost obliterated the racial characteristics of the founders of the nation. With the Scotch-Irish there is mixed a small percentage of descendants from the early Pennsylvania "Dutch" and French immigrants, with, perhaps, a sprinkling of other nationalities. The racial type has changed very little, however, and these people from both the highlands and the lowlands



Ewing Galloway

Three generations of a mountaineer family

are still vigorous and are taking an important part in the affairs of the nation.

Since the appointment of Dr. P. P. Claxton as Commissioner of Education for the United States by President Taft in 1911, a Tennessean has occupied this position. When President Harding selected a successor for Dr. Claxton he chose Dr. J. J. Tigert, another Tennessean. Both were educated in Tennessee. William Gibbs McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury under Woodrow Wilson, Director of Railroads during the war period of government control, and builder of the Hudson Tunnels, was born while his family was with Confederate refugees in Georgia, but he is by inheritance and training a Tennessean. In the legal profession Tennessee has such representatives as Justice Sanford, born in the Tennessee mountain region; Justice McReynolds of the United States Supreme Court, and Mar-

tin W. Littleton, a leader of the New York bar. One of the cotton kings of America was Samuel M. Inman, born in the Tennessee mountains. Norman H. Davis, distinguished in international affairs, and Frank L. Polk, Acting Secretary of State in 1918, are Tennesseans. Richard T. Wilson, multi-millionaire, whose descendants married into the Vanderbilt family, and Admiral Farragut were Tennesseans. The present commandant at West Point was born in Tennessee. Among the Tennesseans who have won national prominence in art is George de Forest Brush, who was born at Shelbyville. In sculpture Belle Kinney is known for her figures on the pediments of Nashville's replica of the Parthenon; and Nancy Cox-McCormack has received special recognition for the bust of Mussolini which she recently completed. Editors and publishers produced by Tennessee include such men as Adolph S. Ochs, publisher of *The New York Times*; Henry Watterson, and Dixon L. Merritt, editor of the *Outlook*. Among the Tennessee writers in the public eye at present are: Bruce Barton, Grantland Rice, Opie Read, Roark Bradford, E. B. Stribling, Maristan Chapman, and others. The Clemens family, to which Mark Twain belonged, lived in the Tennessee mountains until shortly before the birth of the great humorist, and several scenes of *The Gilded Age* are laid in that district. The American Medical Association has of recent years had two presidents from Tennessee, the late Dr. John A. Witherspoon and Dr. W. D. Haggard. John E. Edgerton of Tennessee was president of the National Manufacturers' Association.

#### ISOLATED COMMUNITIES

If a predominantly Anglo-Saxon population can produce such leaders, the people of remote mountain districts, who are of the same stock, may be depended upon to develop a superior type of citizen when they are reached by modern progress. Until the past decade their isolation has been practically unbroken. Their customs and living conditions have changed very little, and their

speech is still sprinkled with quaint, obsolete words used in England three centuries ago. This old English, combined with words of their own coining and current American terms, has formed a dialect which is peculiarly their own. The use of "hit" for "it" and the dropping of the final g are two of the most noticeable characteristics of the mountaineers' speech. "Holp" is often used for the past tense of "help" and "seed" for past of "see." "You-all" is frequently used, and is always plural. "You-uns," which is similar in meaning to "you-all," is sometimes used, but I have never heard the "we-uns" which some writers put into the mouths of their mountain characters.

Old customs and superstitions still persist, the old English ballads are still sung; and life in some of the cabins is quite as primitive as it was when the first pioneers came over the mountains, breaking the way to the West. Food is usually cooked on a wood stove, although a few cabins still have only a fireplace; wood is often hauled on a kind of sled with crude runners of hard wood; and some mountain families are quite as averse to bathing as Englishmen were in Queen Elizabeth's day. Many of the superstitions which persist until the present day are those which have to do with planting; for instance, some seeds must be planted on the "dark" of the moon and some on the "light." Good Friday is considered a lucky day for certain kinds of planting. Ghosts and witches exist only in tales handed down from other days, but hundreds of superstitions still cling to various affairs of life. Early infancy is surrounded by its peculiar superstitions, and woe to a mother who allows her baby to look in a mirror before it is a year old—it will surely die before the year ends. Too often ignorance of infant care makes this prophecy come true.

The ballads are numerous and varied in nature. Many of them date back to the England of three centuries and more ago. Some of them, such as *'Possum Up de Gum Tree* and *Sourwood*





A Kentucky mountaineer and his hillside cabin

Ewing Galloway

Mountain, are humorous. Others are filled with bloodthirsty tales of jealousy, murder, trials and hangings; examples of this type are *The Two Sisters*, *The Two Brothers* and *The Cruel Mother*. The most beautiful are the love songs with their plaintive melodies and invariably sad stories. *Lord Lovel* is an interesting example of the love song. Its hero is a lord who returns from his travels to find that his sweetheart has died. It concludes with these lines:

Go dig my grave, Lord Lovel he said,  
Go dig my grave, says he,  
For I have no longer in this world to  
stay,  
For the loss of my Lady Nancy.

No single fact can explain the existence of the people in these mountain communities, although a number of theories have been developed concerning their origin. Some historians say that they are the descendants of those who could not keep up with the westward-moving stream of pioneers. Others

believe that they were fugitives from justice and deserters from the armies of both the Revolutionary and Civil War periods. A few writers advance the theory that they are descended from English peasant stock, while the planters and city builders were descended from the Cavaliers, but it took sturdier material than the Old World aristocracy to build all the country west of the mountains. William Blount, Territorial Governor of Tennessee, was one of the few leaders of Cavalier ancestry; John Sevier was French Huguenot; Andrew Jackson, James K. Polk and Andrew Johnson were Scotch-Irish and other leaders were of this same general strain.

The urge for settlement of the West, which began when the first pioneers pushed over the mountains into Tennessee and Kentucky, continued steadily until the United States, under a Tennessee President, James K. Polk, acquired Texas, California and Oregon,

which then included territory out of which other Western States have been carved. Tennesseans were leaders during the Mexican War and in the settlement of Texas. Sam Houston, a former Governor of Tennessee, was Governor of the Texas Republic. David Crockett was another picturesque figure of this period. Thomas Hart Benton, who figured prominently in national affairs as United States Senator, grew to manhood in Tennessee.

Regardless of his past history and his present condition, the mountaineer is going to be an important factor in the growth of the Southern Appalachian section. Both industrial and agricultural development are beckoning him and the rugged mountain country is being gradually opened up. He represents a reserve of man-power quite as important as the potential electric power in the streams which rush down his mountainsides. It may be rather a difficult task to harness this man-power, and it is possible that outside capital will undertake to exceed its rights in this respect, as well as in connection with electric power, but if the South is truly awake it will guard its human beings as jealously as it guards its streams.

#### RIISING TIDE OF INDUSTRIALISM

The rising tide of industrialism in the South, particularly in the region of the mountains where unlimited electric power is available, is bringing many changes. Perhaps in two or three more decades the mountain type, as it is now known, will have entirely disappeared, for intermarriage with outsiders and changes which must be made to meet the progress which is being thrust upon them, will prevent the mountain people from escaping certain alterations in their mode of life. The new textile mills, the artificial silk plants and the other industries which have come South seeking cheap, intelligent labor, have encountered the growing pains of labor troubles. But they have been of no more serious nature than strikes in other parts of the country.

The foreign capitalist will learn in

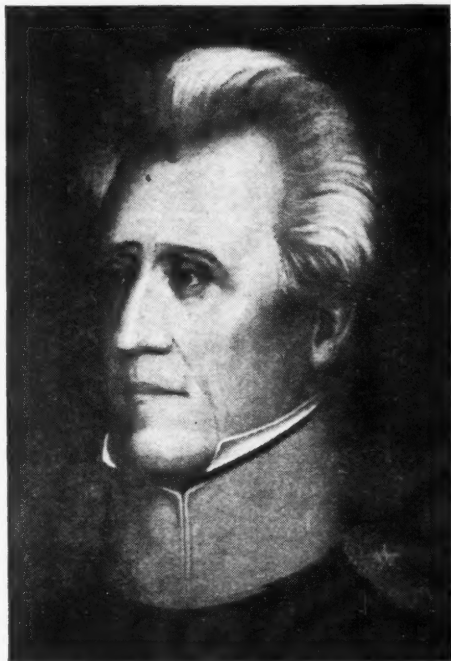
dealing with this type of labor that he will have intelligent workers who may be had, for a while at least, at a rate materially lower than is common in other parts of the country. But he will find, also, that these people, who are quick to learn their work in the factories, will not take long to discover their lower wages. The mountaineer has a very definite sense of honor in regard to personal property, and he can not easily be converted into a Communist. His mountain cabin never knew the need of a lock, but let the person beware who takes something from him. He has no foolish ideas about confiscating the mill he works in, but if the labor agitators succeed in making him believe that he has just cause for grievance against his employer, trouble will surely develop.

#### ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

The annual income of many families in the mountains is so small in dollars and cents that it would mean abject poverty and even starvation in the city. For this reason the wages first offered to the mountaineer in the mills seem like a fortune. It does not take him long, however, to learn that city wages must meet city prices, and very often he finds that he has forsaken his easy-going life in the open for long hours of labor which improve his condition very little, if any. And so it is doubtful if, under the most satisfactory conditions, the greatest good will result from converting these people into industrial workers. Naturally, many of them will be attracted to the towns, but a satisfactory rural development should be sufficient to keep the bulk of the population on the small farms, to help produce food for the growing army of workers.

The new agricultural industries—creameries, cheese plants, canneries and poultry and fruit shipping concerns—which deal directly with the farmer, seem to offer far greater opportunities for normal development to the mountain people, as well as to farmers in all parts of the South. During the past decade fruit growing in Southern

mountain sections has gone forward by leaps and bounds. Canneries are offering markets for both fruits and vegetables; creameries and cheese plants are encouraging the development of small dairy herds; and poultry raising has become a real business instead of merely furnishing "egg money" for the farm wife. Weaving, basketry and other handicrafts are being developed in the homes, and the tourists who visit national parks and mountain resorts, as well as gift shops, furnish a market for these wares. On every side marketing and farm demonstration work are important phases of community development. The mountain farmer is being taught to make the most of his steep acres through crops particularly suited to his soil. Grazing land and water are plentiful in the mountains; the choicest of peaches, apples and grapes may be grown on incredibly steep hillsides; chickens can always be raised and many profitable garden and field crops can be produced, even though the area which it is possible to cultivate is not large. It is of necessity the land of the small farmer, but it need not be a land of want. Good roads are the only thing which

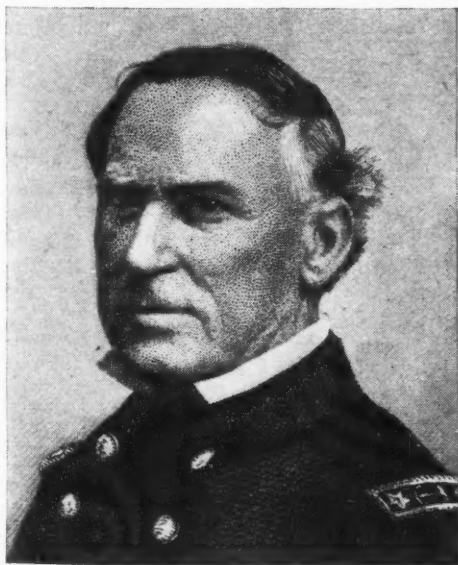


ANDREW JACKSON

President of the United States 1829-37. He was born in North Carolina

make production above the amount required for family use profitable. Even today many mountain communities cannot reach market with their produce, but roads are being thrown out like magic ribbons and the isolated communities are gradually tied to the rest of the world.

Conditions in the mountains today are still far from ideal. The death rate is unnecessarily high; illiteracy is far too common, and religious sects, like the Holy Rollers and faith healers, prey upon ignorant, superstitious minds. There is a crying need for physicians, nurses, teachers and sane, level-headed ministers of the gospel. But contact with the mountains is being established, and however we may look at it, the mountaineer is standing face to face with the modern world. What he will do with it and what it will do with him are interesting subjects for speculation, but the States which seize this opportunity and offer to him the greatest and best chances for development will be richly repaid.



ADMIRAL FARRAGUT

Born in 1801 near Knoxville, Tenn.

# The Modern Historical School For Scandal

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

PROFESSOR EMERITUS, HARVARD UNIVERSITY; CHAIRMAN,  
BOARD OF CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATES

BIOGRAPHY IS one of the most ancient and most effective forms of literature. The lives of great men are integral parts of the history of great nations. Hence the effort to perpetuate those lives by biographies which, side by side with narrative history, carry the achievements of the past into the future of nations. Plutarch's *Lives* is one of the most esteemed sources of our knowledge of the great ancients, for history is an aggregation and combination of human lives. We Americans are justly proud of our great men and of the biographers who have set out to make later generations acquainted with the character and the spirit of their ancestors.

Unfortunately, there was little discriminating biographical writing in America before the Revolution. When that struggle revealed the great men of the time, a brood of biographers sprang up who, for the most part, looked upon all the signers of the Declaration of Independence and their intimate friends as a species of demigods—Wirt's *Patrick Henry*, for instance, borrowed the cult of ancestor worship. Particularly successful as a writer of what he thought his countrymen would like to read, without any troublesome accuracy of research, was Parson Weems, whose historical romance might well have been entitled "What Weems Wanted Washington to Have Been." It is still reprinted and quoted as though it were a biography instead of a clever improvisation.

Alongside such children's story books believed in by adults, sprang up a school of American biographers and

historians who sought diligently for sources which would confirm their previous conviction that the leaders in the Revolution were demigods free from human weaknesses or errors. A structural difficulty was that the good Hamiltonian writers felt it a moral duty to point out the meanness and falsity of Jefferson; while the Jeffersonians threw an embarrassing spotlight on Hamilton's imperfections. However, there was one character whom everybody then treated as impeccable; that was George Washington.

Not long after the death of that man, whom all the world except his recent biographers recognize as great in character and mighty in performance, three men acquainted with the sources relating to Washington's life, wrote respectable biographies—John Marshall, the greatest American jurist of his time; Washington Irving, the best literary man of his period, and Jared Sparks, the most learned collector of source material on Washington. These are all honest biographies by men who had access to materials, and who sought to tell the truth. Yet not one of them is now read by the general public because they too deeply revered Washington and were too much interested in the public side of his life and character. Their Washington seemed too monotonously good to be true.

Other Presidents were treated with much less respect. Unfriendly pens limned Jackson and Van Buren and Ulysses S. Grant and Grover Cleveland. Lincoln's memory has suffered from detractive biographies; some of



them by personal friends. We have also been admitted to a private view of the defects in the character of most of the Revolutionary heroes. A very clever imaginative writer named Buell, some decades ago, actually created a new John Paul Jones and placed him among the immortals by the simple process of providing him with a ready-to-wear genealogy and backing up his statements by apochryphal data. He seems to have been a pupil of the Weems School of Biography.

#### THE NEW BIOGRAPHERS

The great success of the work of English, French and German biographers, written on new lines and coming to unexpected conclusions, has revealed many inaccuracies and furnished an antidote to the pious and biased and imperfect school of biographers. Furthermore, the new school has compelled the world to read biography. Yet the careful reader cannot help observing that picturesque biography puts in many things that are "snappy" but not characteristic. Still it is a good thing to treat queens and emperors and mighty diplomats as actual living persons who had colds in their heads and patronized an unholy mixture of brandy and porter and took too many non-combatants with them on military campaigns. Undeniably, the best of those biographies do impress upon the minds of the readers the actual course of the lives of people who were human beings and influenced by human motives. On the other hand, who really cares to know the family life of Alexander Borgia or the antechamber quarrels of Leicester and Essex, and Dudley and Queen Elizabeth?

The purpose of biography, after all, is not to give one a picture of the times so much as to make clear to the reader's mind what changes were brought about in state or republic or empire by that man or woman. Historical biography is nothing if it is not historical, in the sense of bringing before the reader the changes wrought by the great character set before him. There is no denying that the best of these

character study biographies do light up the dark passages of history and bring out the valuable truth that the greatest men and women have had to pass their lives in their own historical times, and to effect those changes of thought and practice in those about them which measure the development of nations.

Alongside this group of masterful writers is a growing school of would-be biographers who seem to think that no history of any country is complete which does not bring to light the weaknesses, errors and particularly the self-indulgences of those reputed to be great. Here in the United States the two greatest Americans have been made the targets for suspicions, innuendoes and downright falsehoods, in the effort apparently to relieve the writers from the unwelcome admission of a cordial admiration for and love of the greatest figures in our history.

Abraham Lincoln, though a descendant of respectable ancestors in England, Massachusetts and Virginia, was born on the frontier and brought up in what the new lights of biography seem to think a deplorable condition of poverty, ignorance and degradation. The most recent investigations bring out clearly that the Lincoln family at Hodgdonville, when and after Abraham was born, were on the same social footing as their neighbors, had as good a house, as good furniture, as good horses, and as good firearms as other people about them. There was even an anti-slavery church in the neighborhood in which it is possible that young Abraham obtained some ideas as to the wrongfulness of slavery years before his experience on the flatboat going down the Mississippi. There is no lack of excellent, lively and readable biographies of Abraham Lincoln by competent scholars. Yet, when a magazine prints a set of silly, unreal and visibly forged letters relating to Lincoln, which, while not imputing wrongdoing to him, makes him out a poor, unsteady and unreasoning young man, the story is repeated all over the country.

The school of belittling biographies

busied itself especially with George Washington. It is true that Weems and his imitating, adoring writers have helped to convince the historically minded that, to paraphrase the remark on Daniel Webster, no man could be as great as Washington has been depicted. Three or four books have recently been published with the apparent purpose of making people believe that Washington was first a weakling boy, then a libertine, later a military failure, successful only because even poorer soldiers were set in command against him, and at last a discredited statesman, cringing in fear of a Philadelphia mob.

#### WASHINGTON'S DAILY LIFE

Nobody can ascertain the history of every moment in a young man's life or in an old man's life. We have, however, more evidence as to where Washington was from day to day, where he went, whom he met, and what he did, than in the case of any man of mark in his period. The Diaries never tell you what Washington was thinking about or planning or what he read or how it affected his mind. They tell us, nearly 200 years afterward, where he was and whom he met, revealing to us his occupations, his avocations, his interests, his amusements, his social activities, his friends. Besides that record (which was interrupted by the war from 1775 to 1782) literally thousands of his personal letters are extant. No man of his time, and few prominent men of any time, lived such an open life. There is no proof that he was a bad character anywhere; but every now and then some of the barnyard school of biographers revive ancient and exploded

scandals, founded on forgeries concocted by personal enemies during the Revolution, to brand him with a dissolute life.

In many ways a very cool and cautious man, Washington never hesitated to express his mind with vigor and decision. Hence it takes something more than a carefully constructed house of cards, in which dwells Sally Fairfax, to convict him of a deception of one of his most intimate men friends, renewed at intervals for fifteen years. The genuine leaders of the modern vivid biographical school have found no need of such repeated and clumsy efforts to construct an unprovable background for their generalizations.

The best antidote to these artificial efforts to tear down characters like Lincoln and Washington is to read their own writings. The two volumes of Lincoln's *Works*, published many years ago, are a storehouse of his wisdom and an arsenal for those who love his memory. Just so with Washington. His diary is curt and factual; but it brings out the many-sidedness of his abilities and his character. One wonders that the Modern Historical School for Scandal has not attacked the reputation of Theodore Roosevelt, another of those unaccountables who have achieved greatness by sticking to great jobs. Perhaps a hundred years hence some American will try to produce the impression that he wasted his life in riotous living, presenting as evidence his pillow fights with his children and their young friends. History is very much more than facts, and very much more than the public incidents in the life of great men; but you cannot make history out of barber-shop gossip.

# *The Ape Theory of Man's Descent*

By *WATSON DAVIS*

MANAGING EDITOR, SCIENCE SERVICE, WASHINGTON

**H**ENRY FAIRFIELD OSBORN, president of the American Museum of Natural History, in his address as retiring president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science at the Des Moines meeting reopened the controversy regarding man's descent by declaring for an extension of the time that man as a human being has lived on earth. He argued that the human race has existed as a distinct natural division, wholly separate from its nearest relatives, the great apes, for more than a million years. As far back as the end of the Pliocene period, which preceded the Age of Ice, there were erect-walking, tool-using, big-brained beings fully entitled to the dignity of human rank. Dr. Osborn's theory greatly extends the time of man's habitation of the earth over the period assigned by most other scientists. He places the relatively large-brained "Dawn Man" of Pilt-down, England, as of the Pliocene Age, and because of this deduces a long period of development before his appearance. He would extend back the time of man, as man, many hundreds of thousands of years beyond that allowed by most other scientists. He also denies man anything like a lineal descent from any of the existing great ape stocks, although he postulates a derivation from a simian ancestry at an earlier date; probably during Miocene time, which some geologists estimate began 19,000,000 years ago and lasted for about 12,000,000 years.

Several lines of evidence are cited by Dr. Osborn in support of his radical hypothesis. The most direct is

that the so-called Dawn Man, whose skull fragments were found at Pilt-down some years ago, really belonged to Pliocene times instead of the Age of Ice. He called attention to the roughly chipped stones known as eoliths, which Reid Moir, an English investigator, has found associated with animals of known Pliocene Age. He stated that the noted French archaeologist, Abbé Henri Breuil, has recently pronounced these to be of human workmanship and of Pliocene date. Not only are the two fragmentary skulls and the eolithic tools claimed for Pliocene time, but the skull capacities of these earliest men are at least equal to the minimum cranial contents of certain primitive human tribes still in existence. And the skulls of the quarternary men who succeeded the Dawn Man race are as generously provided with brain space as those of the highest modern humans. Since the human head, and especially the brain, is a very highly developed and specialized group of organs, Dr. Osborn concludes that it is only reasonable to assume a very long time of evolutionary development preceding the emergence of even the relatively small-brained Dawn Man. How remote man, of both modern and Ice Age time, is from the present-day great apes was brought out by a comparison between the ratios of brain weight to body weight. This ratio is 1 to 50 in man. In the "brainiest" of the apes, the gibbon of Southeast Asia, it ranges 1 to 66 down to 1 to 73. In the gorilla the ratio lies between 1 to 150 and 1 to 200.

Dr. Osborn also contended against the assumption, practically universal

since Darwin, that man's evolution took place in wooded regions during comparatively recent time. He pointed out that of the original animal stocks of Tertiary times, those branches that remained in the woods, developed conservative and retrograde characters, while those that forsook the forests for life on upland plains became progressive and "modern." He believes that the argument may be extended to include human development, and concludes therefore that man, originally a child of the forests, underwent his real evolution toward full humanity in a plateau region. All anthropologists do not agree with Dr. Osborn in his interpretation of the evidences of ancient man or the conclusions he draws. His widening of the separation between man and the apes will please many who instinctively do not like to be associated with animals who resemble them.

#### WAVE MECHANICS

Out of the thousands of papers delivered before the American Association for the Advancement of Science the one selected at the Des Moines meeting by a jury of eminent scientists, as "a noteworthy contribution to science presented during the meeting," for the \$1,000 prize was that of Professor A. J. Dempster of the University of Chicago for his demonstration that atoms act like waves of light. This is a further experimental proof of the new kind of physics known as wave mechanics, Professor Dempster's researches being an extension of the new physical concepts which last Fall won for the Prince de Broglie, the French scientist, the Nobel prize in physics.

It was formerly believed that matter and radiation, such as light, had different kinds of properties, but de Broglie's wave mechanics predicted that small particles of matter should behave like waves of light in many respects. This revolutionary idea was first given experimental support by Dr. C. J. Davisson and L. H. Germer, New York physicists, about two years ago when they showed that electrons, particles of elec-

tricity and the most minute matter are deflected from a crystal of nickel as though they were waves instead of particles. For this work Dr. Davisson was honored with a gold medal by the National Academy of Sciences.

Professor Dempster, in his prize paper delivered before the American Physical Society, showed that atoms, larger particles of matter than electrons, also act like waves when they are deflected from a crystal in much the same way as sunlight is reflected from a finely ruled diffraction grating, to make a glorious rainbow. A firmer foundation is provided for the new ideas of the constitution of matter. In his experiments Professor Dempster used a stream of canal rays, charged hearts or nuclei of hydrogen atoms, also called protons, speeding 1,500 miles a second at a potential of 30,000 volts. These were projected against a crystal of calcite with the experimental results that the atomic hearts were shown to act like waves instead of particles of matter. Since the atomic heart of hydrogen is 1,843 times as massive as the electron and since the larger the particle of matter the less it acts like a wave, Professor Dempster's achievement is hailed as a considerable advance.

#### WHAT WE BREATHE

Air, most universal of man's necessities, is not all we breathe. Dr. W. J. Humphreys of the United States Weather Bureau, in his presidential address at the Des Moines meeting of the American Meteorological Society, pointed out that "with every breath we inhale a million micro-sticks-and-stones and a host of other things that are no part of a pure atmosphere. Where do they come from? The heavens above and the earth beneath. Every wind that sweeps a desert catches up tons, and sometimes millions of tons, of pulverized rock to spread far and wide. Fragments of vegetable fiber litter the soil of the world over and are wafted hither and yon as even the gentlest breeze may blow. Pollen of



conifers, ragweeds and a thousand other trees and plants we must take into our lungs from Spring to Fall every day we breathe the open air. And our bronchial tubes need chimney sweeps (luckily provided by nature) to get rid of their coatings of soot from kitchens, factories and forest fires. Even the ocean, through its evaporated spray, makes a salt mine of the air we breathe. Then, too, lightning sprays nitrogen acids into the atmosphere, while soft coal and volcanic vents similarly add the sulphur acids—but all are too dilute really to bother us. Spores and microbes of many kinds we just have to inhale, for they are everywhere. And as if all this were not enough the earth every now and then explodes at some great volcano and hurls tons upon tons of rock powder into the air, where it drifts far away for weeks, months or years, according to its degree of fineness and initial height attained. Finally, in addition to all this dust the world stirs up of its own, the atmosphere to its outermost limits is filled with the ashes, so to speak, of daily millions of incinerated meteors or shooting stars. That is how the earth got its konisphere or dust shell. If it had no atmosphere it would have no konisphere, but having an atmosphere it must also have a coexistent and coextensive konisphere."

#### STERILIZING THE UNFIT

At the Des Moines meeting of the Society of Sigma Xi, meeting with the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Professor G. H. Parker of Harvard made the plea that defective individuals should not be allowed to reproduce and multiply the burden of their kind upon society, although the gravest doubts have been expressed by other scientists whether enough is known about heredity to justify theories on which eugenics is based.

"In experimenting on race betterment it seems quite clear that the place to begin is with the most defective members of society," Professor Parker said. "Those who are State wards and

must be cared for by State funds and those whose defects are hereditary should in some way or other be restrained from reproduction. Such a step may be carried out by segregation, which has been advocated by many public custodians, \* \* \* but a much more radical means of controlling defective individuals is sterilization. When sterilization is considered, it is always easy for one to point out who should be sterilized. We all know the personalities about us who are objectionable, and we can quickly point out the stocks that should not reproduce. But sterilization is an operation that should not be allowed to proceed excepting in proper hands. It is an operation that should be permitted only through a court medically advised." California, with a eugenic sterilization law for about twenty years and more than 6,000 cases of sterilization, is the State in which sterilization has been most used.

#### CAUSE OF INFLUENZA

The reported discovery of the causative organism of epidemic influenza by Dr. Isadore S. Falk, a University of Chicago scientist, holds out hope to those who have suffered from this disease and live to remember it. Whether this discovery actually has unearthed the long-sought cause and possible means of prevention of this disease cannot be definitely stated for some time yet. Working during the epidemic of 1928-29, Dr. Falk and his associates isolated an organism of the streptococcus family, where also is to be found the germ of scarlet fever and septic sore throat, and have produced a disease resembling human influenza in monkeys infected with this particular organism. Every influenza epidemic of modern times, at least, has brought forth similar organisms thought to be the specific cause of the disease. One by one these organisms have failed to measure up to expectations in succeeding epidemics. The value of Dr. Falk's discovery can be determined only by further careful scientific investigations and confirmations.

## *Aerial Events of the Month*

**A**S A RESULT of the remarkable flight by Commander Byrd (since promoted by President Hoover to the rank of Rear Admiral) over the South Pole, it was stated that the United States might now lay claim to 35,000 square miles of territory lying beyond the Ross Dependency claimed by Great Britain. The new mountain range discovered, it is said by geographers, is a topographical feature quite independent of any features on the eastern boundary of the Ross Dependency. The general question of sovereignty over this new land has received little attention, although in Norway a tentative claim was put forward on the strength of Amundsen's previous explorations.

If anything were needed to complete the hearty endorsement of Byrd's accomplishments it was the one note of criticism which rallied scientists, explorers and aviators to his defense. This criticism came from a Norwegian, Major Tryggve Gran, a member of the Scott Antarctic Expedition, who denied the accuracy of Byrd's account of mountains near the pole, and further attempted to depreciate the difficulties of the undertaking. Immediately from all over Europe came repudiation of this criticism, coupled with praise for the feat, and explanations that the mountains mentioned were not near the pole, but were on certain boundaries of the huge raised plateau on which the pole was located.

Since the rediscovery of the pole the final touches have been put on the work of the expedition. The first of these was a flight to the eastward beyond King Edward VII Land, one of the most interesting and one of the most impenetrable lands to be explored. The flight by Commander Byrd on Dec. 5 disclosed an entirely new mountain range running to the north, south and east of King Edward Land, a

range which was surveyed by the aerial camera for 150 miles. This discovery is important geographically because it partly explains what holds the immense ice barrier in place.

The second finishing touch was the dramatic completion of the work of the geological party which on foot has been doing scientific exploration at the base of the Queen Maud range. On Dec. 27, Dr. Gould, leader of the group, discovered at the foot of Axel Heiberg Glacier, a cairn left there by Amundsen eighteen years ago, containing matches, kerosene, and a small can with a note written by Amundsen. This discovery disproved Major Gran's further contention that it was impossible that any cairn of Amundsen's could have survived eighteen years of Antarctic weather. The party had already confirmed Byrd's report that Carmen Land, reported by Amundsen as lying between the mountains and the Ross Sea, was apparently nonexistent. This, says one eminent geologist, brings up the important geographical question of the region lying between East and West Antarctica.

The climax of the trip was the announcement radioed back by Dr. Gould on Jan. 1 that he had discovered 6,000 feet up Mount Nansen, a "highly carbonaceous layer" in the sandstone of the mountain. This discovery fits in with previous explorations which have revealed coal in ranges lying somewhat parallel. Although the coal is of poor quality and almost inaccessible the discovery is scientifically of the utmost importance.

### SAFE AIRCRAFT COMPETITION

The announcement of the winning plane in the international safe aircraft competition, organized two years ago and sponsored by the Daniel Guggenheim Fund for the Promotion of Aero-

nautics, was made on Jan. 1. The first prize of \$100,000 was awarded at Mitchel Field on Jan. 6 to the Curtiss Aeroplane and Motor Corporation for the performance of the Curtiss Tanager. The closest rival to the Curtiss plane was the English-built plane, entered by Handley Page, but it failed in one test and there was some doubt whether it actually came up to all the requirements. Twenty-seven designers and manufacturers entered planes, but by the time tests were being made at Mitchel Field only fifteen planes were presented owing to the rigidity of the construction requirements. The test which the English plane was unable to meet was that "the plane must be able to glide for three minutes with all power switched off at a speed not to exceed thirty-eight miles an hour, the demonstration glide being of at least three minutes' duration." This the Curtiss plane passed satisfactorily. Three of the eight other tests were that "the aircraft must come to a complete stop within 100 feet of the spot where it first touches the ground in landing"; that "the aircraft must take off after not more than a 300-foot start along the ground and must then clear a thirty-five-foot obstruction 500 feet from the starting point"; and that "in normal flight, at a speed of 45 to 100 miles an hour, the pilot must take both hands off the controls, leaving them entirely free for at least five minutes to demonstrate the ability of his craft to right itself after disturbances."

#### EIELSON'S DISAPPEARANCE

The disappearance of Lieutenant Carl Eielson in northern Alaska or Siberia early in November while doing rescue work from a stranded Russian vessel, has roused the sympathy of all nations around the Bering Straits. Soon after Eielson vanished planes of the Aviation Corporation and also private planes were sent to look for him. On Dec. 24 the United States Government, through Senator Borah as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, appealed to the Soviet Gov-

ernment to instigate a search for the lost navigator. A few hours later Secretary of the Interior Wilbur, acting on notes from friends of Eielson, sent an unofficial appeal to the Soviet Union Information Bureau and through Governor Parker of Alaska to the stranded vessel. By Dec. 26 three nations, Canada, the Soviet Union and the United States, had sent planes to the hunt. George E. King, the Alaskan pilot, offered his services to the Soviet officials, and Shestakov, the Soviet pilot, was to head a Russian search party. Moscow has also sent out a request to the inhabitants of the east coast of Siberia asking them to join the search, and a reward has been offered by the Soviet Government. Reports on Dec. 28 that Eielson had been sighted by a vessel, and that smoke had been seen by natives were denied on Dec. 31, when those conducting the Aviation Corporation's Eielson relief operations failed to find any traces in the named localities. In the meantime, supplies on the stranded steamer Nanuk were becoming low. On Dec. 30 it was reported by Alfred J. Lomen, director of the corporation's activities, that Eielson would be sought on Wrangel Island, where it was possible that fog might have forced the aviator and his mechanic down. Dog teams from the Nanuk have been searching along the Siberian coast where early in November it was reported Eielson's plane was heard by the inhabitants.

#### AERIAL DISASTERS

During December there have been several disastrous accidents in aerial flights. The first of these was the crash near Warren, Ohio, early in December, of the air-mail pilot, T. P. Nelson, who was carrying the mail from Bellefonte to Cleveland through severe cold and storm. His wrecked plane was not found immediately, and several aviators, including Colonel Lindbergh, went in search of Nelson and his plane. After four days a farmer discovered the wrecked plane. On Dec. 7 a note was found which

Nelson dropped from the plane, making it clear that he was aware of danger before the crash.

Another accident was the crash of the British Gairey Napier monoplane, which, piloted by two Royal Air Force officers, was making an attempt at a non-stop flight to South Africa, a distance of 6,000 miles. On Dec. 18 came a report of the discovery of a wrecked plane in Tunis. It proved to be one belonging to the Royal Air Force, and the bodies those of Squadron Leader A. G. Jones-Williams and Flight Lieutenant N. H. Jenkins. It is thought that the wreck was caused by an overheavy load and the height of the mountains to be crossed near the Sahara Desert.

One of the worst crashes in the history of aviation occurred on Dec. 20 when a Fokker plane of the transport type crashed at Bolling Field a few seconds after the plane's take-off. Among those killed was Congressman William Kaynor of Springfield. At the time of the crash no cause could be found for the accident.

The most recent disaster was the wreck of two airplanes filled with motion picture directors filming a play over the Pacific. The two planes crashed head on, on Jan. 2, and bursting into flames, fell 3,000 feet into the ocean. The ten persons aboard were all killed instantly.

#### PROGRESS IN 1929

Statistics of the growth in aeronautics during the year 1929 were made public on Jan. 1 by Clarence M. Young, Assistant Secretary of Commerce. Mr. Young predicted further development on the basis of the following figures: For the year 1929 about 16,000,000 miles were flown in air services, as against 10,673,000 in 1928; 85,000 passengers were carried and 8,000,000 pounds of mail, as against 49,000 passengers and 4,000,000 pounds of mail in 1928; established airway mileage increased to more than 35,000 miles, as against 16,000 in 1928. Mr. Young further reported an increase in aircraft production from about 300 in 1921 to

more than 6,000 in 1929; and an increase in exports to such an extent that for the first half of 1929 they exceeded the aggregate for the full year of 1928 by more than 41 per cent.

Jan. 1 saw a summing up of the major aerial accomplishments for the year. Among the outstanding events were the refueling endurance record of the plane Question Mark, the betterment of it by a plane over Culver City which stayed in the air 247 hours; the round-the-world flight of the Graf Zeppelin in August; the winning of the Schneider Cup by the British plane which flew 328 miles an hour, and the breaking of that record by the British squadron leader, Orlebar, who flew 355 miles an hour.

The Herbert Schiff Trophy, awarded for the attainment of the highest safety performance in naval aviation, was presented on Dec. 14 to Lieutenant Thomas Fisher, commander of the San Diego training squadron. The cup was presented to the squadron having the best record for safety in flying during the fiscal year. This squadron's record consisted of 8,159.35 hours flying, covering about 571,130 miles, the training of 478 students with 157 qualified for further training, with no injuries whatever to personnel and only three minor accidents to material.

#### FROM SPAIN TO BRAZIL

Two aviators, one French and one Uruguayan, Lieutenant Challes and Major Larre-Borges, left Seville, Spain, on Dec. 15 in a dual-control Breguet land biplane, hoping to fly the South Atlantic to Brazil. Nothing was heard of them until Dec. 17, when an authentic report was received that they had been forced down on the coast of Brazil, and that although the plane was completely demolished the aviators were safe. Immediate aid was sent out by the Brazilian Government, and Lieutenant Challes, who was slightly injured, was taken to a hospital. Their flight is the third complete non-stop flight from Europe to South America.



## *The Problem of "Naval Needs"*

By JAMES THAYER GEROULD

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY; CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

THE PAST MONTH'S discussion of the problems to be considered by the London conference on the limitation of naval armament has been vigorous and informing on the part of both the press and the responsible officials of all the governments concerned.

The French position was summarized very clearly in a memorandum published in Paris on Dec. 26. In its opening paragraph it called attention to the fact that the conference was limited by the terms of the invitation to such action as might later be reviewed at Geneva, and stated that existing agreements should be concerned only with "principles and methods." It approved the British and American idea that they should be based on the Pact of Paris, but it did not regard that instrument as complete, since "its rational application has not yet been organized." Until there was a determination of the procedure under it in the event of threatened war and of mutual assistance against the aggressor, "it cannot be looked upon as sufficient to guarantee the security of nations." It was the realization of this fact, the memorandum continued with a touch of irony, that had prevented the British and American Governments from making drastic cuts in their present building programs. Incomplete as was the machinery established in the covenant, the League had already developed the bases of a complete system of security which might be expanded into something that would justify a radical reduction of armament. Any complete naval agreement must imply an understanding as to the freedom of the seas and the cooperation of other fleets against the aggressor. It must be based, not on mathematical ratios

but on demonstrated needs; and it must be related to land and to aerial armament. Finally, the memorandum suggested an agreement of mutual guarantee and non-aggression among the Mediterranean powers, similar to that provided for the Pacific area by the Washington conference. Expressed in the fewest possible words the French memorandum meant that they would reduce their naval force whenever, through the League or the pact, they received adequate guarantee of security.

The British reply to this note appeared on Jan. 17. It expressed the greatest confidence in the Kellogg pact, saying in answer to French comments: "His Majesty's Government place considerable trust in the fact that fifty-six countries have declared their intention to renounce war as a measure of national policy and to resort only to pacific means for settlement." The reply further says: "His Majesty's Government note the suggestion by the French Government that it is doubtless due to the absence from the Kellogg pact of any provisions for its methodical application that they have been deterred from contemplating any considerable reduction in naval establishment. His Majesty's Government desire to remove the error upon which this reservation rests. In response to better prospects of peace and of an international agreement, the British proposals, as a matter of fact, provide for a very considerable reduction in the strength which the British Empire has considered necessary in all categories of combatant vessels, from capital ships to submarines." As regards the Mediterranean proposal, the note concludes: "Inasmuch as all Mediterranean powers are members of the League of Nations, it would appear that facilities

already exist for joint consultation in event of need. There is a great measure of security in this, but his Majesty's Government will be glad to exchange views on the subject with all the powers concerned."

An exceedingly interesting formula for the estimation of "naval needs" was laid before the Naval Committee of the French Senate on Dec. 7. Five items were included—length of coast line, area of territory, length of communications, external trade and sea-borne traffic. A combination of the ratios derived by the French naval statisticians gave a result as follows: The British Empire 10, the United States 4.2, France 3, Japan 1.6 and Italy 1. Doubtless our own naval officials, or those of any other country, for that matter, could produce a similar demonstration of anything they desired to prove. Solemn statements of this kind are useful for home consumption, but they do not alter the fact that "naval needs" are based actually on political rather than on mathematical considerations. There is sufficient evidence of this in the varying, and generally increasing, estimates made by naval men of their requirements for safety. The French, for example, only a very few years ago reckoned their necessities for submarines at 80,000 tons, but now their minimum demand has been raised to 127,000 tons. It should be said, however, that the total tonnage of 800,000, which France now says she requires, is only slightly different from the actual size of her navy in 1914; while all the other countries, except Great Britain, which has decreased its total from 2,500,000 to 1,300,000, have largely increased their naval strength.

The British position underwent no change. With great difficulty and against

the wishes not only of the navy but of the rank and file of the Conservatives, the Admiralty was brought to agree to a reduction of their requirement for cruisers from 70 to 50. The opposing opinion was exemplified in a debate in the House of Lords on Dec. 18, when Earl Beatty, who commanded the Grand Fleet during the latter part of the great war and later was First Sea Lord of the Admiralty, joined with Earl Stanhope, a former Civil Lord of the Admiralty, in a spirited attack on the government policy, arguing that with fifty cruisers, half of which must be kept with the battle fleet, the government program was far from providing adequate protection for the 9,500,000 tons of British merchant shipping to be found any day on lines of communication extending over 80,000 miles.

Although not directly concerned with the naval conference, the British White



WHERE SHALL WE CUT IT?

—Cleveland Plain Dealer



(America wants to erect floating airports in the Atlantic) Uncle Sam: "Give me a few stepping-stones and I will conquer the world"

—Il '420,' Florence

Paper, issued on Dec. 12, giving the government's reasons for its signature of the optional clause of the World Court statute, had a very definite pertinence to it. While in its terms it in no way involved the United States, since it limited the application of argument to members of the League, it was nevertheless an interesting summary of the implications of the Pact of Paris, under which our own obligations are none the less real because they are moral rather than legal. After reciting the commitments as to the judicial settlement of disputes already assumed under Article XIII of the covenant, the World Court statute and the Pact of Paris, the document continued:

As regards disputes of a judiciable character, therefore, his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom consider signature of the optional clause as the logical consequence of the acceptance of the pact of peace. Acceptance of the optional clause means that disputes falling within its terms will receive from the Permanent Court of International Justice a definite solution, which the parties to the dispute are bound under Article XIII of the covenant to "carry out in full good faith." If the pact of peace is to be made fully effective, it seems necessary that the legal renunciation of war should be accompanied by definite acts providing the machinery for the peaceful settlement of disputes. His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom believe that the first step in thus building up barriers against war is to secure the general acceptance of a system under which justiciable disputes will be settled by the operation of law.

The British Government, accordingly, signed the optional clause under the

conditions outlined, and so did the governments of the other members of the British Commonwealth. The chief opposition to this action came from those who held that it would be likely to limit the exercise of British sea power in time of war. To them the government answered that disputes between belligerents and neutrals had heretofore rested on the assumption that that was a normal and legitimate method of settling international difficulties:

Now it is precisely this assumption which is no longer valid as regards States which are members of the League of Nations and parties to the peace pact. The effect of those instruments, taken together, is to deprive nations of the right to employ war as an instrument of national policy, and to forbid States which have signed them to give aid and comfort to an offender. As between such States there has been in consequence a fundamental change in the whole question of belligerent and neutral rights. \* \* \* In other words, as between members of the League, there can be no neutral rights, because there can be no neutrals.

Throughout the entire argument the obligations assumed under the Pact of Paris were considered as supplementing and extending those of the covenant; but the conclusion was inevitable that neutrality in the old sense was as obsolete under the one as the other. Any statement that would extend this doctrine to the United States was carefully avoided; and from the legalistic standpoint there is no doubt that we are not so involved. In case of war in violation of Article XIII of the covenant, however, there would obviously

be an infraction of the Pact of Paris, and we would be forced to choose between an assertion of our neutrality, which would make us a belligerent against the League, or the acceptance of its action, which would make us its ally. There is not the slightest doubt that, in a concrete case, the League would endeavor to associate us with its action from the first, and so avoid the dilemma; but without a previously established procedure, there would be delay where there should be the utmost speed. It is this uncertainty as to our action that more than anything else makes naval disarmament difficult; and until we give up our policy of legal isolation, we must face before the public opinion of the world, to which Secretary Stimson so frequently refers, a heavy weight of responsibility for the delay.

It is in the Mediterranean area, rather than in the Atlantic or the Pacific, that the conference seems likely at this writing, to have its most fruitful result. Italy considers herself one of the great powers, and at the moment her

nationalistic temperature runs very high. Naval parity with France is looked upon as necessary for her national prestige, even though she may not, for financial reasons, be able to maintain it by actual construction. Strategically she is badly placed. She has a long coast line and is dependent on the sea for her food and raw materials. Great Britain, by closing Gibraltar, could do her enormous damage; and an Anglo-French combination could starve her into submission in a very short time. This is an added reason for her demand for parity with France and for her desire to secure some sort of a treaty of non-aggression and mutual guarantees covering the Mediterranean. In such a pact, Great Britain would have an interest almost as vital as France and Italy; and if it is consummated, Spain would probably be asked to adhere.

Summing up the situation as it appeared a couple of weeks before the opening of the London conference, set for Jan. 21, the first fact to be noted was that the atmosphere was one of mutual understanding and good feeling that promised to go far toward making the conference a success. For no similar gathering since the war had there been such careful preparation; all the nations had laid their cases on the table, and the difficulties that must be met, and overcome, if an agreement was to be reached, were fully understood. There was no disposition in any quarter to minimize the seriousness of the differences that divided the five nations represented, but there was unquestionably in the minds of them all a sincere desire to find some formula by which they might be composed.

Questions of ratios, of tonnage and of calibre of guns, are superficial, and if the conference failed of substan-



Ingenious, but will it stand the strain?  
—The Washington Post



tial accomplishment, it would be because the delegations did not feel that the time was yet ripe for attacking the fundamental political issues of which any far-reaching and stable agreements must take cognizance. Unless these problems are understood, a proper interpretation of the work of the conference is impossible. However much our government might attempt to evade the issue, the world of 1930 is a single community, inevitably interrelated; and problems of power as between the nations cannot be decided even by the strongest without relation to the others. No nation can continually maintain a policy at variance with the interests and desires of the larger group.

One need not be sympathetic with the imperialistic ambitions of France and her determination to maintain her primacy in Europe, which the Versailles Treaty attempted to establish, to see merit in her contention that it is impossible to isolate the various elements of power and to determine one without regard to the others. In modern warfare, the forces of the land, the sea and the air act in common; and while, because of geographical conditions, one nation must depend most largely on one of these arms, its neighbors with whom it seeks agreement may be obliged to rely most strongly on another. Still more patent is the justice of the French position that the establishment of security must precede disarmament.

Although we are the least threatened nation in the world, this theory is actually as evident in our naval policy as it is in that of France. We have demanded parity with Great Britain so that our commerce may be secure in the event of a war in which our interests are opposed to theirs. In no other logical way can we defend our policy.



COMING OUT OF HIS COMA  
—The World, New York

Great Britain asserts her necessity for a naval tonnage larger than that which we desire to maintain in order that her food supply and her communications may be safeguarded. If a satisfactory arrangement as to the freedom of the sea could be made, the necessity for large navies would very largely disappear.

The major difference between the Anglo-American and the French point of view is that we hesitate to attack fundamentals and the French insist on it. It is a matter of political psychology. It is altogether probable that the governments both in Washington and in London would be glad to discuss these major problems if they could control the legislatures on whose support they must depend. Mr. Hoover faces a Senate in which the attitude of a strong minority toward international questions is Byzantine; but if he is to accomplish anything at all, he must secure a two-thirds majority in that body. Mr. MacDonald heads a minority government, and is able to advance no further and no faster than he can induce his opponents to follow.

# *The League of Nations Month by Month*

By ALBERT SWEETSER

ONE OF THE MOST important plenipotentiary conferences recently held by the League was that on the equitable treatment of foreigners, which met in Paris in December at the special request of the Latin-American delegation. The conference represented the culmination of years of preparatory study through technical committees and correspondence with governments and was based on Article XXIII of the covenant providing that members of the League will insure the equitable treatment of international commerce in their respective countries. The draft convention and protocol submitted to the conference, together with the report of the economic committee summarizing the replies of the various governments, sought to provide the greatest possible guarantees against unfair discriminations toward foreigners doing business in any particular country. Not only, therefore, would the special limitations and handicaps developed during the war be eliminated but a surer codification of the basic international law in this field would be effected. This, it was hoped, would result in a fuller cooperation between nationals of different countries as regards free circulation of persons and capital and the expansion of industry. This convention would, like the League conventions, be open to ratification by non-member States. The United States was represented at the conference in a consultative capacity by George A. Gordon of the American Embassy in Paris.

The conference developed unexpected difficulties. The draft convention submitted to it drew forth many more exceptions and reservations than anticipated by the previous governmental consultations, and agreement was found to be far less than expected. Accordingly, no attempt was made to write a final convention at the moment but instead it was decided to continue and

widen the consultations with a view to a final later conference. A protocol, therefore, was adopted whereby the governments represented will complete the list of points to be decided and forward their observations to the Secretariat before June 1 in order that a second conference may take place before next December. At this conference the governments will examine the replies received and the opinions of various League organs, the International Labor Office and the International Chamber of Commerce, and attempt to arrive at a final convention incorporating the international law in this very important field.

The economic committee, which, in October, had begun study of the proposal for a tariff truce, concluded its sitting early in November with agreement on a draft convention to consolidate and stabilize the existing import and export duties for a period of time to be decided by the subsequent conference. The convention would not invalidate any bilateral trade agreements with more favorable terms, nor does it undertake to lay down any principles for the subsequent betterment of the world tariff situation for which the truce would simply provide the time for necessary preparation and plan. The committee also decided that a number of agricultural experts should be appointed, especially acquainted with commercial problems arising from trade in farm produce.

The third conference for the abolition of import and export prohibitions, the basic convention of which was the first League convention to be completely negotiated and ratified by the United States, opened at the end of October with Charles E. Lyon, commercial attaché at Berne, representing the American Government. Of the eighteen ratifying States, including the United States, necessary for making the convention

operative, some had conditioned their acceptance of the convention on that of certain other States, some of which, notably Poland and Czechoslovakia, had not yet taken action. While awaiting final action by these other States, those which had ratified decided to bring the convention into operation among themselves as from Jan. 1, on condition that, if the two above States do not ratify by July 1, one group of ratifying States may be free at that time to denounce their ratification and another group may be free to do so on a year's notice. Thus the convention becomes operative for the time being; the two principal non-ratifying States are given a period for action; and the others the right to withdraw if they do not take that action.

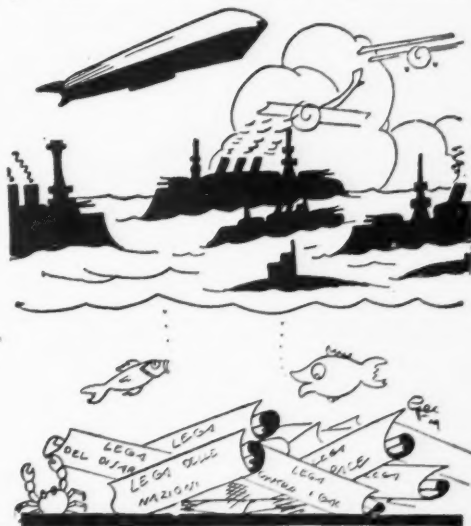
A preparatory committee met in December to consider ways and means of allowing the free circulation throughout the world of educational and scientific films which now, even with their very limited market, must pay the same customs duties as the big scenarios. A draft convention was worked out for submission to the governments whereby such customs would be abolished for various types of films destined to make known the League of Nations, to aid education, to help professional education and information, to stimulate scientific and technical research, to serve learned societies and scientific institutions, and to promote health and social work. The International Educational Cinematographic Institute at Rome would examine such films with a view to providing a certificate but governments would always, of course, retain the ultimate right of decision. American interests were represented by G. R. Canty of the American Embassy in Paris and Harold Smith of the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors Association.

Another preparatory committee met for the purpose of making comparable the statistics used by various governments for inland transportation. At present there is either complete lack or utter divergence, rendering comparison impossible. The United States was

represented at this meeting by Mr. Fayette W. Allport, Brig. Gen. William M. Harts and Captain P. C. Grening.

A further repercussion of the World Press conference of 1927 was seen in a conference in November attended by nineteen countries and aiming to improve the free and rapid transport of newspapers from one country to another. Many technical questions were involved, including fiscal, tariff, customs and police regulations, the use of international express trains and the application to newspaper transport of the international convention on goods transport by rail.

Ruanda-Urundi, densely populated "B" mandate in Central Africa, it was reported at the sixteenth session of the Permanent Mandates Commission, was making considerable progress toward becoming a political and economic unit, with increasing native participation in government and in the creation of a new capital, the development of schools and highways, control of famine by a more comprehensive road system and the development of a changed land tenure converting the people from a pastoral to an agricultural society. In the British Cameroons, where indirect government through the organization



(League of Nations, League for Disarmament, &c.)

"Twenty thousand leagues under the sea"

—11 '420, Florence

of tribes and clans is being attempted, progress was reported in the development of native administration, though the budgetary deficit has now mounted to a figure of £386,000, which, however, the accredited representative stated, should not be regarded as a burden upon future generations of the mandated territory but rather as a sacrifice which the mandatory considers it a privilege to make in the cause of civilization and the mandates system. In British Togoland the commission was informed that slavery no longer exists and that the carrying trade is being conducted on the basis of voluntary contracts. In Western Samoa, conditions which for some time have bordered on revolution were reported as becoming more normal, though not yet satisfactory, as the passive resistance of certain tribes with whom the government was attempting to cooperate still continues.

Finland acceded during November, following the example of Sweden, Belgium and Norway, to the general act for the pacific settlement of international disputes which seeks to provide within one document the most approved methods of adjudication of every possible type of dispute, whether by meditation, conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement.

The first ratification of the revised protocol for the statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice was received in November from Belgium, the total number of signatories for this protocol and the protocol for American membership in the court now totaling fifty.

The accession of Persia, as the seventeenth State, to the protocol prohibiting gas and bacteriological warfare coincided with the death in the United States of Senator Burton, who, as representative of the United States Government, induced the Conference on Arms Traffic to depart from its agenda, and the League from its principle of not drafting war conventions, in order to write into world law a convention which was ratified by the

Senate after the Washington conference but not after the Geneva conference.

The publication of the thirty-ninth quarterly report of the Governing Commission of the Saar Valley appeared as French and German delegates met in Paris to see whether this question, which produced a sharp crisis during the peace conference a decade ago, and which was to be settled by plebiscite in 1935, could not be given an earlier solution as part of the general negotiations for the liquidation of war.

Italy asked the Secretary General to notify the United States of its acceptance of the principles in the scheme transmitted by the American Government for the limitation of manufacture of drugs.

Bolivia was informed of the appointment of Dr. Mackenzie of the health organization to undertake the reorganization of the Bolivian Health Service, as requested by that government.

Two members of the Liberian Slavery Inquiry Commission were appointed in December—Mr. Meek, a Norwegian judge who has spent years in Africa, on the nomination by the Council of the League, and Charles S. Johnson, by the United States Government. The United States also transmitted an annual report on opium, a special report on a drug seizure in San Francisco and a Treasury Department pamphlet on "The Prevalence and Trend of Drug Addiction in the United States." It also transmitted notification of the extension of the General Claims Commission between the United States and Mexico and the ratification by Yugoslavia of the International Radio Convention, while Canada registered an agreement between the United States, Canada, Cuba and Newfoundland on the assignment of certain high frequencies on the North American Continent and an agreement between Canada and the United States for the reciprocal recognition of civil aircraft, pilots' licenses and certified aircraft merchandise.



## *Prohibition Report of the Law Enforcement Commission*

THE PRELIMINARY report of the Law Enforcement Commission which began work last May under the chairmanship of George W. Wickersham was submitted to Congress by President Hoover on Jan. 13. To it Mr. Hoover appended a message of his own and additional suggestions by Secretary Mellon and Attorney General Mitchell. The Wickersham report recommended a program for the better enforcement of prohibition to be used by Congress as a basis for legislation.

In his message of transmission President Hoover outlined the defects of the present system as follows:

After exhaustive examination of the subject, the Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement and the officials of the Department of Justice and the Treasury Department unite in the conclusion that increasing enactment of Federal criminal laws over the past twenty years, as to which violation of the prohibition laws comprises rather more than one-half of the total arrests, has finally culminated in a burden upon the Federal courts of a character for which they are ill-designed, and in many cases entirely beyond their capacity. The result is to delay civil cases and, of even more importance, the defeat of both justice and law enforcement. Moreover, experience shows division of authority, responsibility and lack of fundamental organization in Federal enforcement agencies and oftentimes results in ineffective action.

To remedy these evils the President advocated six administrative reforms in the enforcement and judicial machinery:

1. Reorganization of the Federal court structure so as to give relief from congestion.
2. Concentration of responsibility in detection and prosecution of prohibition violations.
3. Consolidation of the various agencies engaged in prevention of smuggling of liquor, narcotics, other merchandise and aliens over our frontiers.

4. Provision of adequate court and prosecuting officials.

5. Expansion of Federal prisons and reorganization of parole and other practices.

6. Specific legislation for the District of Columbia.

Mr. Hoover called particular attention to the plan of the Law Enforcement Commission "for reducing congestion in the Federal courts by giving court commissioners enlarged powers in minor criminal cases." In conclusion the President said:

I believe the administrative changes mentioned above will contribute to cure many abuses. Beyond these immediate questions are others which reach deeply into the whole question of the growth of crime and the enforcement of the laws. The causes of crime, the character of criminal laws, the benefits and liabilities that flow from them, the abuses which arise under them, the method by which enforcement and judicial personnel is secured, the judicial procedure, the respective responsibility of the Federal and State Governments to these problems, all require further most exhaustive consideration and investigation, which will require time and earnest research as to the facts and forces in action before sound opinions can be arrived at upon them.

The preliminary report of the commission, a document of some 4,000 words, found, to use Chairman Wickersham's words, that "a few simple legislative enactments could be made greatly to strengthen enforcement of the national prohibition law" under the strain of which our present judicial system has proved inadequate. The report opened with a discussion of the general scope of the problem which the commission attacked last May:

As to observance: It is impossible wholly to set off observance of the prohibition act from the large question of the views and habits of the American people with respect to private judgment as to statutes and regulations affecting their conduct.

To reach conclusions of any value, we must go into deep questions of public

opinion and the criminal law. We must look into the several factors in the attitude of the people, both generally and in particular localities, toward the laws in general and toward specific regulations. We must note the attitude of the pioneer toward such things.

We must bear in mind the Puritan's objection to administration, the Whig tradition of a "right of revolution," the conception of natural rights, classical in our policy, the democratic tradition of individual participation in sovereignty, the attitude of the business world toward local regulation of enterprise, the clash of organized interests and opinions in a diversified community, and the divergences of attitude in different sections of the country and as between different groups in the same locality.

We must not forget the many historical examples of large-scale public disregard of laws in our past. To give proper weight to these things, in connection with the social and economic effects of the prohibition law, is not a matter of a few months.

#### FIGURES ON ENFORCEMENT NEEDS

As to enforcement, there are no reliable figures to show the size of the problem. But the reported arrest in the last fiscal year of upward of 80,000 persons from every part of continental United States indicates a staggering number of what might be called focal points of infection.

To these must be added the points of possible contact from without, along 3,700 miles of land boundaries, substantially 3,000 miles of frontage on the Great Lakes and connecting rivers (excluding Lake Michigan) and almost 12,000 miles of Atlantic, Gulf and Pacific shore line. Thus, there are about 18,700 miles of mainland of the continental United States at every point of which infection is possible.

There are no satisfactory estimates of the number of roads into the United States from Mexico and Canada. The number of smuggling roads from Canada is reported as at least 1,000, and on the Mexican border there are entrances into the United States at most points along a boundary of 1,744 miles.

To deal with an enforcement problem of this size and spread, the Federal Government can draw only on a portion of the personnel of three Federal services, whose staffs aggregate about 23,000. Approximately one-tenth of this number is in the investigative section of the prohibition unit. Of the remaining 20,000, only a small proportion of the personnel is available for actual preventive and investigative work. The remainder is engaged in work far different from prohibition.

These figures speak for themselves.

#### ADMINISTRATIVE DIFFICULTIES

A frequent complaint is that the Federal

Government is prosecuting small cases and not getting at those responsible for the large supplies of illegal liquor. To get at the smugglers, the wholesale distributors and those who manufacture and divert on a large scale, it is necessary to have either an integration of the forces working at the supply and distribution ends or a close working relation between the two forces.

With respect to both liquor and narcotics, it is frequently stated by enforcement officials and those who study phases of the problem that the Federal officials who deal with local or retail distribution upset many an investigation which might lead to the sources of supply; and on the other hand, investigators who are dealing with sources are frequently ineffectual in getting at persons who control the sources.

To adjust the machinery of Federal administration, as it had grown up for other purposes, to this huge problem of enforcement of prohibition, is not easy, and will require much further study. Unification, centralization of responsibility and means of insuring cooperation between Federal and State agencies are things to which we must come quite apart from the exigencies of enforcement of prohibition, but which cannot be achieved overnight.

In the field of legal difficulties, however, the report continues, these can be more easily defined and remedied immediately. Reasons for these difficulties, on which enforcement officials are practically unanimous, may be reduced to four:

1. The division of enforcement between the Treasury Department and the Department of Justice.
2. The disordered condition of Federal legislation involved in enforcement.
3. The possibilities of evading or defeating injunction proceedings, commonly known as padlock injunctions, by means of transfers and concealments of persons interested in property used for manufacture and sale of illicit liquor, and
4. The congestion of petty prosecutions in the Federal courts, requiring great delays, interfering seriously with general disposition of accumulated causes under circumstances impairing the dignity of and injuring respect for those tribunals.

The rest of the report is devoted to the commission's detailed plans for alleviating each of these evils. Thus, the first proposal is to concentrate responsibility for detection, preparation of cases and prosecution in the Department of Justice while the Treasury shall continue to control the granting of permits and to regulate the legitimate

use of alcohol. As things are now, the report points out:

It is an anomaly that the cases are investigated and prepared by agencies entirely disconnected with and not answerable to those which are to prosecute them. All experience of administration shows the importance of concentration rather than diffusion of responsibility. \* \* \*

There must be careful study of how to separate the permit-granting work of the Treasury Department, which belongs there, from the work of investigation and prosecution, which should all be done in the Department of Justice. But the principle of transfer of the latter to the Department of Justice is, we think, clear.

Codification of the twenty-five or more statutes which prohibition enforcement involves was the second reform urged by the commission:

We recommend that all Federal legislation applicable to the enforcement of prohibition be revised and digested with a view of making it a unified whole in the form of a simpler, better ordered, and hence more workable code. In our judgment, this will make for much greater efficiency.

Thirdly, the commission recommended an amendment to the national prohibition law to make the padlock injunction more effective. The present padlocking provision of the national prohibition law, said the report, is wise, but means of evading it are often found:

By conveying some small fraction of the title to a non-resident, or by resident owners, landlords, or tenants concealing themselves and evading the service of process, such proceedings are increasingly rendered nugatory. We are advised that open, persistent and extensive violators of the law have been enabled to escape so-called padlocking of their property in this way.

We think this grave defect may be met by a simple amendment, adding to Section 22, Title II, of the national prohibition law a provision that if in a proceeding under that section it is made to appear to the court that any person unknown has or claims an interest in the property or some part of it, which would be affected by the order prayed for, it may order that such person be made a party by designating him as unknown owner or claimant of some interest in the property described.

It should go on to provide that such person and any defendant who is absent from the jurisdiction or whom, whether within or without the jurisdiction, it is impracti-

cable to serve otherwise, or who is shown to the satisfaction of the court to be concealing himself for the purpose of evading service of process or of any order of the court, may be served in accordance with the provisions of Section 57 of the Judicial Code.

The use of injunction proceedings as a means of enforcement is so important that this provision for reaching unknown claimants, non-residents, and residents who conceal themselves to evade service of process would add very greatly to the efficacy of the statute. It contains nothing which is not already done in the States generally when private claims to property are concerned.

To meet the fourth evil named above, namely congestion in the Federal courts, the report offers a program for simplifying the method of prosecution in petty cases. It does not recommend increasing the number of Federal judges or creating inferior Federal courts unless the plan here outlined is found inadequate.

The abolition of indictment by grand jury in petty cases is the first short-cut suggested:

A statute providing that in prosecutions under Title II of the national prohibition law the District Attorney may, in case of "casual or slight violations," prosecute by complaint or information, and in such cases, when so prosecuted, the penalty for each offense should be a fine not to exceed \$500, or imprisonment in jail without hard labor, not to exceed six months, or both, would obviate the long delay, unnecessary expense, and needless keeping in session of grand juries, which are demanded by the present state of the law.

We think also that it would be expedient for Congress to define the term "casual or slight violations."

Second, to expedite petty cases where the accused pleads guilty, it is suggested that the United States Commissioners hear such pleas and report to the magistrate:

As the law is, every offender must be indicted, must await indictment before he can plead guilty, even if ready to do so at once, and his case must, if he pleads not guilty, await its turn on the calendar, obstructing, if it is a petty case, the disposition of important cases. The mere accumulated number of these petty prosecutions awaiting trial has become a source of embarrassment in many Federal courts. \* \* \*

It could be provided that in case the ac-

cused, prosecuted by complaint or information, pleads guilty, such plea may be reported by the commissioner to the court and judgment of conviction rendered and sentence imposed by the court. Then it could be provided that in case the accused so prosecuted pleads not guilty, there shall be a hearing before the commissioner, who shall report to the court, and the court on examination of his findings render judgment of acquittal or conviction as the case may be, and in case of conviction impose sentence.

It could be provided further that if conviction is recommended by the commissioner, the accused may within three days, after filing of the commissioners' report, except in writing to the report and demand trial by jury. Finally, it could be provided that in such case the District Attorney may elect whether to go to trial on the complaint or information, or to submit the case to the grand jury, and that in case the grand jury indicts the case shall then proceed upon the indictment.

The Jones law was enacted to make enforcement more efficacious in two ways: (a) by providing for more severe penalties in the discretion of the court; (b) by making available the collateral consequences of a felony, such, for example, as the rules of law applicable to prevention of a felony and the capture of felons. This was done by making every violation of the national prohibition act a potential felony.

#### FELONY PROVISIONS

The foregoing suggestions aim at preserving this feature of the existing law. Up to the time when the District Attorney elects how to prosecute there is a potential felony. In other words, all the possibilities in the way of arrest and prevention which obtain under the existing law are conserved.

But the intention is to make it possible in case of "casual or slight violations" (language of the Jones law) to prosecute as a petty offense, thus relieving congestion in the Federal courts, maintaining the dignity of those tribunals, and making possible speedy disposition.

As things are now, the cumbersome process of indictment must be resorted to even in the most petty case. The result is that large numbers of these cases pile up and have to be disposed of off-hand by "bargain day" and similar unseemly processes.

In any case which the District Attorney elects to prosecute by indictment, the judge will still have the discretion provided for in the existing law. If it is objected that a wide discretion is put in the District Attorney by the proposed legislation, the answer is that he has that discretion already in effect, simply exercising it, not in the beginning by the mode in which he prosecutes, but later by including any par-

ticular prosecution in the wholesale disposition on some bargain day.

A supplemental report of considerable length, discussing the legal aspects of the reforms advocated above, was also submitted by the Law Enforcement Commission on Jan. 13.

The report of Attorney General Mitchell, appearing simultaneously with Mr. Wickersham's, revealed that the Department of Justice had been cooperating with the Law Enforcement Commission. The problem of congestion in the courts was given first consideration by Mr. Mitchell. He cited figures to show that it had been growing steadily worse each year:

That there has been no relief since June 30, 1929, is shown by telegraphic reports from United States Attorneys (excepting those in the Territories) covering prohibition and narcotics cases commenced and terminated during the six months ended Dec. 31, 1929. These reports show 28,437 prohibition and narcotic cases commenced; 25,887 such cases terminated, and 20,066 pending Dec. 31, 1929—an increase over the number pending June 30 last and an increase as compared with those pending Dec. 31, 1928.

Mr. Mitchell termed the commission's proposal to use United States Commissioners to dispose of a large number of petty cases "the most important and constructive suggestion." He admitted that some constitutional difficulties might possibly be involved, but minimized these in view of the fact that the plan was supported by the many eminent jurists on the commission. He called attention to the need of coordinating the border patrol forces, of amending the prohibition act in regard to padlock injunctions, of reorganizing the prison system and of making enforcement more effective in the District of Columbia. In conclusion he made the following recommendations:

First—Immediate consideration of legislation to relieve congestion in the United States courts by

Enlarging the powers and duties of the United States Commissioners;

By providing some additional judges;

By appropriation of funds for enlarging and improving personnel in the clerks' and marshals' offices.

Second—Immediate consideration of legislation to transfer to the Department of



Justice the agencies for the detection of offenses under the national prohibition act.

Third—Appropriation of funds to increase the rates of pay and to provide additional forces in the offices of the United States Attorneys.

Fourth—Amendment to padlock injunction provisions of the national prohibition act.

The creation of a unified border patrol to put teeth into customs and immigration as well as prohibition laws, was the subject of Secretary Mellon's report to the President, which was transmitted to Congress with Mr. Wickersham's and Mr. Mitchell's. The Secretary of the Treasury made the following concrete suggestions:

1. The entry into the United States of all persons should be prohibited except at points of entry designated by the President.

2. The present number of points of entry should be increased sufficiently to permit uninterrupted and unhampered intercourse with our neighboring countries over established and customary routes.

3. A unified border patrol should be created to patrol the border and prevent illegal entry.

4. The unified border patrol should be a part of the Coast Guard.

In deciding on the points of entry, said Mr. Mellon, we must consult with our neighbors, Canada and Mexico, as a matter of courtesy. These negotiations and the work of unifying the border patrol would take about six months, said Mr. Mellon, and would cost considerably more than the present appropriations.

Although the Wickersham report was, on the whole, sympathetically received in Congress, and a bill reorganizing the Treasury and Justice Departments immediately introduced in the House, the time when its recommendations should become law appeared to be far distant. The provision most criticized in the Senate was the one most urgently advocated by At-

torney General Mitchell, namely, the substitution of hearings by commissioners for trial by jury in petty cases. It was attacked as being "against the spirit of the Constitution."

It was plain from the debate that the forces which combined to bring prohibition to the fore during December and to precipitate a preliminary report by the commission would keep the centre of the stage in Congress for some time to come.

Not since the thundering debate between Senators Borah and Reed of Missouri over the passage of the Jones bill in February, 1929; not since the I'm Alone incident and the deKing murder of last March and the appointment of the Law Enforcement Commission on May 20 has the subject of prohibition reverberated so loudly in the halls of Congress or been spread so generously across the front page



A nice family atmosphere to be born into  
—New York Herald Tribune



Looks like it will be another bottle baby  
—Cincinnati Post

as in the month just past. In the last decade the tide of public interest in prohibition has alternately risen and receded. It was an interesting combination of circumstances that brought prohibition again into the limelight during December and January.

The development of greatest importance was the preliminary report of the Law Enforcement Board. Although it had not by any means completed its work, a report of its findings thus far was precipitated by demands in the Senate. On Dec. 20 Senator Harris offered a resolution requesting it. This led to a debate, in which the fact that all the commission's sessions had been secret was criticized, and both Senator Harris and Senator Glass declared that no more money should be appropriated for the investigation until its method was changed and a report submitted. Senator Jones, Republican dry, echoed this demand. Another im-

petus to the discussion was a statement on Dec. 22 by Judge Paul J. McCormick, member of the commission, that it considered unlawful invasion of private homes by government officials one of the major problems of prohibition. This perhaps ill-timed observation opened up the whole question of the purpose of the commission. Last Spring there were vehement protests from the wets when President Hoover widened the scope of the investigation to include not only prohibition but all law enforcement. Wets claimed that the merits of the Eighteenth Amendment, its results and the feasibility of enforcement were the questions of prime importance and that they would be snowed under in a study of all law enforcement. Drys retorted that the Constitution was not to be questioned but that the commission should confine itself to devising the best way

to enforce it. Senator Jones conferred with members of the board on Jan. 1 and reported that he was "glad to learn that the commission is unanimous that the wisdom or unwisdom of the Eighteenth Amendment is not involved in their work." On Jan. 7 Chairman Wickersham indicated that a preliminary report would be forthcoming soon.

The second phase of the controversy opened with a scorching attack by Senator Borah on the administration's conduct of prohibition enforcement. He entered the lists on Dec. 24 with a statement that in his opinion prohibition "will never be enforced with the present personnel from top to bottom. The great facts that stand out with me in this situation are these: We have the law; the Supreme Court has construed it. There is no difficulty about the officers understanding it. But have we the officials who are willing to execute the law? \* \* \* I am very much more interested in the kind of officials which

we are to have, district attorneys, marshals, sheriffs, and enforcement officers generally, than I am in the theories and dissertations of the commission."

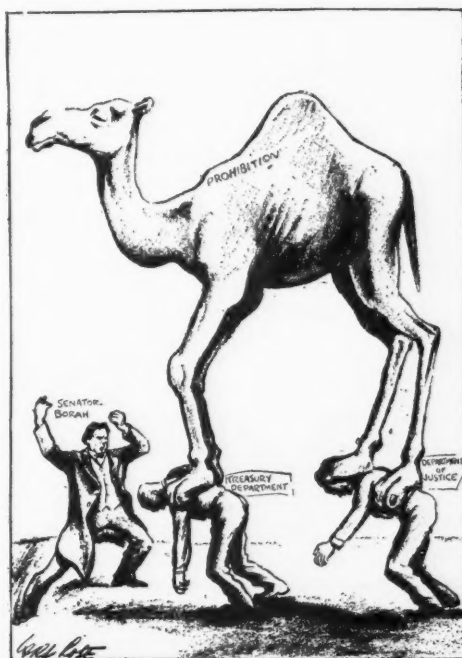
Replies from two administration sources were prompt and specific. On Dec. 25 Attorney General Mitchell praised the "hundreds of devoted public servants \* \* \* men of integrity and courage, doing their best to enforce the law," and retorted that "when Congress is ready to consider and adopt legislation to carry out the administration's recommendations for more adequate law machinery, those whose duty is to enforce the law will be able to accomplish more." He asserted that there had never been greater zeal and activity in law enforcement in his department than at the present time.

Prohibition Commissioner Doran replied that "to say that prohibition cannot be enforced with the present personnel comes perilously near to saying that it cannot be enforced at all." He expressed the opinion that, partly owing to the President's attitude, there had never been such wholehearted determination to enforce the law within the administration.

The next day Under-Secretary of the Treasury Ogden Mills announced that the treasury was formulating a plan for the better control of Canadian ports of entry. Two days later Attorney General Mitchell ordered local attorneys not to dismiss charges in prohibition cases without the consent of enforcement officials. It was reported that this command came from President Hoover, who, it was said, was initiating a new enforcement drive in which officials who did not produce results would be weeded out. Dry Republican Senators, notably Jones, Capper and Sheppard, hastened to express confidence in Mr. Hoover's policies, while Senator Norris agreed with Mr. Borah that the personnel needed a thorough housecleaning. He went so far as to include Secretary Mellon as not being in sympathy with enforcement. Senator Brookhart demanded the removal of Mellon, Mills, Doran and Lowman.

The spirit of dissension spread to the House of Representatives, which on Jan. 9 opposed an administration policy for the first time since Mr. Hoover's inauguration. The President's suggestion of June, 1929, that a joint Congressional committee be appointed to study reorganization of the enforcement agencies was flatly rejected by the House. Though reminded several times by the President, Congress had disregarded the idea for seven months, until finally the Senate approved it by a resolution on Dec. 20. But in the House it died in committee. Speaker Longworth reported to the President that the existing committees were adequate to handle any proposed legislation and that a joint committee would doubtless involve duplication and months of futile discussion.

At the psychological moment, from the point of view of debate ammunition, came a series of shootings incident to the capture of rum-runners, from which three deaths resulted. On Dec. 25 an alleged rum-runner entering United



"Faster! Faster! Faster!"  
—The Boston Herald

States waters from Canada on the Niagara River was fired upon, after due warning, by a Coast Guard boat. The fugitive boat was later discovered deserted except for a wounded man, Eugene F. Downey, who died shortly after. There was no liquor aboard, but this, it was pointed out, might have been thrown overboard during the chase. Downey was at the time out on bail in connection with another rum-running case. Although Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Lowman defended the action of the Coast Guardsmen as being entirely within the law, they were arrested and indicted for manslaughter, second degree.

An intensive drive by the Coast Guard along the shore of Rhode Island resulted in the shooting of three of the crew of a rum-runner, the Black Duck, on Dec.

29. Closely pursued by a patrol boat and warned by its siren, the Black Duck refused to stop. The government boat opened fire, and finally overtaking the rum-runner, found three of the crew dead and the fourth wounded. Five hundred cases of liquor were found. Two other rum-runners were captured during the same night, the British vessel, *Flor del Mar*, with 4,000 cases of liquor aboard, and the fishing sloop *Roamer*, carrying 500 cases. Both crews escaped in lifeboats. Another fishing schooner, the *Leona Sproul*, was captured with the crew and 600 cases aboard on Dec. 31. Secretary Mellon, commenting on the Black Duck affair, said: "It is apparent that the Coast Guard was acting entirely within its instructions and observing its duty."

### Other Events in the United States

**D**URING the ten days before the holiday recess began on Dec. 21 the Senate devoted to the tariff whatever time it could spare from other important legislation. This included the passing of the tax reduction bill, reducing by 1 per cent income and corporation taxes for 1929, and the ratification of the Mellon-Berenger agreement for the funding of the French war debt to the United States by which France will pay us \$4,025,000,000 over a sixty-two year period which began in 1925.

The difficult wool schedule was attacked and partially completed before the recess. Rates considerably above those now in force were carried by majorities often swelled by deserters from the Democratic-Insurgent coalition. The tariff on wool rags was the most bitterly debated. It was raised from the present rate of 7½ cents to 18 cents a pound on the motion of Senator Watson, Republican floor leader. Senators from wool-growing States, regardless of party, combined to put through the increase, by a vote of 45 to 32.

On Jan. 6 the Senate reassembled to consider the final six and a half sched-

ules of the Smoot bill. An agreement was made to give the tariff precedence, it being quite evident that a long and heated prohibition debate was about to be unleashed. The coalition again crumbled in the vote on the yarn rate, which was raised from 40 to 45 per cent. Turning to the silk schedule on Jan. 7, the coalition defeated by a vote of 40 to 32 an attempt to raise the duty on woven or broad silks from 55 to 60 per cent. The rayon rates were dealt with on Jan. 8, the trend being slightly downward.

Discussion of the most controversial schedule of the Smoot bill, namely the sugar rates, began on Jan. 9. Three interests contributed to the dissension—Cuban, Philippine and domestic growers. According to the Fordney-McCumber tariff, now in force, the rate on sugar from abroad is 2.20 cents a pound, from Cuba 1.76 cents, while Philippine sugar enters free. This last fact was cited as a serious detriment to domestic growers, which led to a discussion of Philippine independence as the only way of removing the so-called menace. The domestic interests also pleaded for added protection against Cuban sugar. At this writing two pro-



posals were before the Senate, the new rates fixed by the Finance Committee at 2.75 for foreign and 2.20 for Cuban sugar, and an amendment by Senator Harrison for retaining the existing rates.

An interesting sidelight on these Senate sessions was the presence of Senator Grundy, appointed to fill the seat denied to William S. Vare of Pennsylvania. Mr. Grundy is financially interested in the wool industry and has for years lobbied openly for higher rates. Called before the Caraway committee on lobbies last October, Mr. Grundy avowed his belief in the high protective tariff and the necessity of lobbying in behalf of that principle. He said at that time that he saw no reason why the interests benefiting from a tariff law should not be consulted in the writing of the law, and deplored the fact that "backward" (agricultural, Western) States were accorded equal representation in Congress with the industrial East.

A report of these sessions of the Caraway committee submitted to the Senate on Dec. 10 described Mr. Grundy in a critical tone. It questioned the disinterestedness of his belief in the protective tariff theory, since he himself had made a large fortune out of protected industries. It implied that Mr. Grundy had been active in raising Republican campaign funds, in the hope that "he would be able to influence the action of his party associates in the Congress."

In view of this report and of Mr. Grundy's frankly, indeed proudly, uttered political philosophy, it is not surprising that he faced some opposition on his appointment to the Senate. A three-hour debate, however, resulted in no definite action, and Mr. Grundy was allowed to be sworn in on Dec. 12. Almost his first conspicuous action was to refuse to vote on the yarn rate, on Jan. 6. Mr. Grundy set a precedent by withholding his vote on the ground that he was interested in the industry affected.

Concerned with less controversial matters, the House despatched a num-

ber of important bills during these weeks. Appropriation bills for the Interior and Agricultural Departments were passed on Dec. 11 and 20 respectively. The French debt settlement was approved on Dec. 12. Bills appropriating \$230,000,000 for Federal buildings, \$14,000,000 for new veterans' hospitals and \$9,740,000 for a new Supreme Court building were passed on Dec. 16. The government departments presented their supplemental estimates of \$61,000,000 to the House on Jan. 16. President Hoover requested an additional \$160,000 to rebuild the Executive offices of the White House, which on Dec. 24 were wrecked by a fire in which valuable public records were lost. The Treasury Department asked for \$1,500,000 more for the Coast Guard and \$302,000 for new speed boats to fight rum-runners.

#### THE LOBBYING INVESTIGATION

Senator Caraway's committee on lobbies which delved into the activities of Mr. Shearer, Senator Bingham and Mr. Grundy in October and November submitted its fourth report to the Senate on Dec. 20. This dealt with J. A. Arnold, manager of the Southern Tariff Association, whose work it denounced as "reprehensible." The report said that Arnold represented the American Taxpayers' League and the National Council of State Legislators as well as the Southern organization "ostensibly to influence Congressional legislation, but in fact for the purpose of making a living for himself and a small group associated with him."

During December the Caraway committee scrutinized the lobby of the Cuban sugar interests in Washington. The chief witness was Herbert C. Lakin, representative of the Cuba Company, who, it appeared, had tried to arouse Latin-American protests against an increased sugar tariff in this country. The hearings also revealed that Mr. Lakin had hired as attorney Edwin P. Shattuck and had represented Mr. Shattuck to his employers as a close friend of President Hoover. Mr. Shattuck took the witness stand to deny emphatically

that he had any influence with the President or had discussed the sugar tariff with him. Correspondence between Mr. Lakin and President Machado of Cuba was brought to light, in which the Cuban President characterized the rates of the Smoot bill as disastrous to Cuba.

The Caraway Committee made its report on the sugar lobby to the Senate on Jan. 14. It denied flatly the claims of the sugar lobbyists that they were influencing legislation. "You would get the impression," Senator Caraway told the Senate, "from listening to these witnesses, that legislation is bought and sold here in Washington and peddled like any other commodity." The whole scheme is, he said, "simple graft."

The report called the sugar lobby the most "perfectly organized and liberally financed" of any in Washington. Forces fighting for increases and decreases in the sugar rates of the Smoot bill alone had spent more than \$400,000, it was estimated. The interests represented by Mr. Lakin contributed more than \$150,000, the report stated.

The report characterized as "particularly reprehensible" the attempt by Mr. Lakin "to stir up hostility to the United States in Latin-American countries upon the assumption that it, by its tariff policy, was mistreating Cuba." As to Mr. Lakin's claim, in correspondence with his employers, that Mr. Shattuck had influence with the President, the Caraway Committee found that this claim was used to obtain more money from them. "Shattuck insisted," the report continues, "that he was employed solely as a lawyer, but the part of the work done by him falling within the scope of what is ordinarily understood to be legal services was negligible. It is quite likely that representatives of both the contending forces waited on the President to incline him favorably toward their views, respectively, and, the sliding-scale solution having been proposed, he suggested that they get together in an effort to work out some plan, and in that connection informed them that he would have inquiry made into the practicability of the idea by

experts of the departments. In any event, it appears from the testimony that he did cause such inquiry to be made. In all this your committee finds no impropriety nor anything open to censure or criticism."

#### CONSOLIDATION OF COMMUNICATIONS

Comprehensive plans for the unification of our systems of communication, rail and telegraph, were advocated during the past month. If carried out they will go a long way toward eliminating competition and establishing government controlled monopolies. On Dec. 21 the Interstate Commerce Commission made public a detailed plan for the consolidation of railways throughout the country. This idea has been in process of formulation for the last eight years. Two previous attempts to find a satisfactory plan had failed. In 1921 Professor William Z. Ripley of Harvard University submitted a scheme at the request of the commission, but this was abandoned due to the many objections raised. The commission then asked the railroads to come to some agreement among themselves. A four-system plan was evolved for the East, but did not receive unanimous support.

The new plan submitted by the Interstate Commerce Commission provides for twenty-one systems, with five in the East. It immediately became apparent that the railroads would offer certain objections. Conferences of the heads of the chief companies were called to discuss the project. There was some doubt as to the status of the plan, whether it constituted a command or merely a suggestion, subject to amendment by the railroads. Professor Ripley characterized it as startling and disconcerting.

Hearings before the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee incident to the work of drawing up a new radio bill revealed that leaders in the telegraph and radio field see a crying need for unification and elimination of competition. Owen D. Young, chairman of the Radio Corporation of America, declared that "air monopoly is a necessity just now," as a precaution

against the danger of dictation by better organized foreign interests.

James G. Harbord, former president of the Radio Corporation, advocated regulation of telegraph, cable and radio by a new Cabinet member. He recommended that Congress legislate this authority to a single responsible official. An opposing view was contributed by Newcomb Carlton, president of the Western Union Telegraph Company. He called Mr. Young's fear of foreign dictation a "fantastic bogey," and saw no reason for the creation of a new government controlling body.

Although so urgently occupied during the past few months with economic ills and remedies, the President found time to organize an inquiry into the social trends of American life by five eminent experts. The commission, provided with funds donated by the Rockefeller Foundation, contains names which command respect: Professor Wesley C. Mitchell of Columbia University, chairman; Charles E. Merriam of the University of Chicago; William F. Ogburn of the same university; Howard W. Odum of the University of North Carolina; Shelby M. Harrison of the Russell Sage Foundation. The President's statement outlined the purpose of the survey as follows:

Such subjects will be studied as the improvement of national health and vitality, its bearing upon increased numbers of persons of "old age" and other results; the changes in maladjusted, such as insane, feeble-minded, &c.; the effect of urban life upon mental and physical health; the institutional development to meet these changes; the problems arising from increased leisure, changes in recreation and the provision for it; the changes in occupations; occupations likely to continue to diminish in importance; those likely to increase; the changes in family life; in housing; in education; the effect of inventions upon the life of the people; and many others which may indicate trends which are of importance.

Several appointments of importance were announced by the President during the past month. Patrick J. Hurley was chosen to succeed the late James W. Good as Secretary of War. Mr. Hurley had been Assistant Secretary of the War Department. Senator Fred-

erick H. Sackett of Kentucky, Republican, was named Ambassador to Germany on the resignation of Jacob Gould Schurman. Mr. Sackett worked with Mr. Hoover during the war, as Food Administrator of Kentucky. The President's tendency to appoint his war aides, of whose ability he has had experience, to diplomatic posts was further shown in his choice of Gilchrist Baker Stockton of Florida as Minister to Austria, to succeed Albert H. Washburn, and of Abraham C. Ratchesky of Massachusetts to follow Lewis Einstein as Minister to Czechoslovakia.

Plans for a complete reorganization of the Federal prison system were submitted to Congress by Attorney General Mitchell (as mentioned in his report above) and favorably reported by the House Judiciary Committee on Dec. 20. Five bills made provisions for an industrial reformatory in the West, a Federal prison in the East, a hospital for defectives, a Bureau of Prisons under the Department of Justice and the use of prison labor for public works. These plans which have been brewing for some time received added impetus from a series of horrifying prison mutinies which began last July and focused public attention on the disgraceful conditions prevailing in the Federal prisons.

The most recent and probably the bloodiest of these outbreaks was on Dec. 11 at Auburn prison, New York, where, for the second time in six months a group of desperate convicts made a dash for liberty. Armed with smuggled revolvers they shot the principal keeper to death, took the warden and several guards prisoner and held control of the prison for six hours. They attempted to bargain for their freedom, offering the lives of the warden and guards as the price. The immediate reply of the authorities was "no compromise." State troopers supported by five companies of infantry rushed the building with tear bombs, rescued the warden and guards and shot eight of the convicts. D. E. W.

MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA

## *The Visit of Mexico's President-Elect to the United States*

By CHARLES W. HACKETT

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**B**EFORE HE WAS inducted into office as the chief executive of Mexico, Pascual Ortiz Rubio, President-elect, made an extensive good-will tour of the United States. Accompanied by his family and by a party of Mexican officials, he entered the United States at Brownsville, Texas, on Dec. 4. During his visit he greeted former President Calles in New York on the latter's arrival from Paris, spent eight days in the Johns Hopkins Hospital, Baltimore, passed three days (Dec. 26 to Dec. 29) in Washington, where he was given a state banquet by President Hoover, and then after stopping at Buffalo, Detroit and Chicago returned to Mexico by way of the West Coast. Barring a Communist demonstration in Detroit, the visit was unmarred by any unfortunate incident.

During his tour Señor Ortiz Rubio gave utterance to several significant remarks bearing on Mexico and her relations with the United States. The Church-State controversy is a closed issue, declared the President-elect, "as long as the Church obeys the laws and reflects the provisions of the Constitution, as it is doing now." Mgr. Leopoldo Ruiz y Flores, the Apostolic Delegate to Mexico, however, denied that the Church had accepted the religious laws of the Calles régime. According to the Apostolic Delegate, the accord reached in July was merely a basis for reaching a more complete understanding, and the Church had not renounced its right to seek a solution by reform of the laws.

Señor Ortiz Rubio also declared his

intention to continue the communal grants to villages lacking the same. The land appropriation problem had been settled, he said, and indemnification for such land taken by the government had been paid by bonds.

The development of good-will and understanding between the United States and Mexico was, of course, the principal subject of the President-elect's remarks while in this country. Regarding his attitude toward the United States he said: "That will be one of magnificent understanding for the benefit of both peoples."

Quite contrary to the good-will professions of Mexico's President-elect was the action of the Mexican Government in closing the consulate at Laredo, Texas. District Attorney John A. Valls of Webb County, Texas, announced when it was learned that General Calles planned to return to Mexico via Laredo that he proposed to have a warrant served upon the Mexican ex-President. The warrant charged Calles with conspiracy in the death of two revolutionists near Laredo in 1922. Since Señor Calles bore a Mexican diplomatic passport visaed by the proper authorities, Secretary Stimson notified Mr. Valls that the ex-President enjoyed diplomatic immunity and should not be molested. Mr. Valls, while declaring that there would be a future day of reckoning, indicated that he would bow to the decision of the Federal Government. On Dec. 16 General Calles passed through Laredo without molestation. On the evening of the same day the Mexican Foreign Office



shocked the citizens of Laredo, the thriving American port, by announcing that, effective Dec. 17, the Mexican consulate at Laredo would be closed, that permission granted some time ago to the Laredo Chamber of Commerce to issue tourist cards for entry into Mexico would be rescinded, and that no goods purchased in Webb County would be allowed entry into Mexico. A very effective boycott was thus placed upon the port. That these orders were in retaliation because of the attitude of District Attorney John Valls toward General Calles was placed beyond question by the declaration of Enriquez Santibañez, Mexican Consul General in San Antonio, that the price of the reopening of the consulate would be the resignation of Mr. Valls.

The closing of the consulate was a severe blow to Laredo, whose customs entries into Mexico amount to even more than Vera Cruz, Mexico's chief seaport. Governor Moody immediately appealed to Secretary Stimson to act on behalf of the border city, since the State authorities were impotent in such a situation. The Secretary of State, notwithstanding Mexico's undoubted violation of international law in bringing pressure to bear directly upon a foreign community, was reluctant to take a stand, and quite brusquely told the Governor of Texas that he must find a way out. In the meantime the economic situation in Laredo became more acute, and merchants of that city besieged Governor Moody with demands that he remove Mr. Valls. This the Governor was unwilling to do, and instead, he and the Texas Representatives in Congress renewed their demands that the State Department do something. Secretary Stimson finally acquiesced, and on Jan. 6 it was reported that, as a result of negotiations between the State Department and the Federal Government of Mexico, an early opening of the consulate might be expected.

José Vasconcelos, defeated candidate for the Mexican Presidency in the recent elections, is in the United States fulminating against corrupt election

practices in Mexico and threatening a new revolution. Although the official count shows that the defeated candidate received but 5 per cent of the votes cast, he claims that legally he received 95 per cent. A "manifesto" calling upon his supporters to arm themselves in preparation for his return to Mexico was issued by Señor Vasconcelos on Dec. 5. On Dec. 21 it was reported from Los Angeles that Vasconcelos had established headquarters in that city "for a revolution more political than military in Mexico." On the same day Vasconcelos headquarters in Tampico were raided and documents were found evidencing a widespread Mexican plot.

Secretary of War Joaquín Amaro, on Dec. 22, announced that, since "complete tranquillity" exists throughout Mexico, he has ordered the discontinuance of the policy of providing military escorts aboard railway trains. On Jan. 1, he reported that the entire country was at peace for the first time in several years. Not a single governor reported a military problem of the slightest importance. In pursuance of its policy of conciliation, the Portes Gil administration has granted amnesty to Adolfo de la Huerta, former President of Mexico, who has been living in exile in Los Angeles.

From Dec. 6 to 18, the employees of the Mexican Railway operating between the capital and Vera Cruz, went on strike because of the refusal of the British-owned concern to sign a collective labor contract as demanded by the employees. The strike came to an end on Dec. 19, after President Portes Gil had rendered his decision as arbitrator. The principal points decided by the President were: One, as the strike was declared legal, the company must pay wages to the strikers for its duration; two, the workmen must immediately resume their labors; three, additional positions hitherto considered unnecessary by the company are ordered established; and, four, the company must conclude collective contracts with the labor groups, these contracts to con-

tain clauses giving the men a voice in the administration of the company.

The new Federal penal code went into effect on Dec. 15. This code was drawn and promulgated under special powers granted by Congress to President Portes Gil. The code applies only to the Federal district and territories and such States as choose to substitute it for the existing State laws. The new code abolishes the jury system and the death sentence except for the crimes of treason and sedition.

**H**AITI—Following the disorders of the first week of December in the island republic of Haiti, normal conditions were restored, and the situation passed into the political and discussion stages. Because of President Borno's official elimination of himself as a candidate for re-election, the coming Presidential election in April is commanding the principal public interest. President Borno's declaration that he is not supporting any candidate and will refrain from exercising influence is not taken at its face value, for concern is felt by the Opposition lest the President make material changes in the Council of State which will elect the President. They demand an abolition of the old French system of elections through the twenty-one members of the Council of State, and the substitution of a popular vote under the scrutiny of United States officials. Petitions have been addressed to President Hoover requesting United States supervision of the election such as was conducted in Nicaragua.

President Hoover's request, contained in his message of Dec. 7, that Congress authorize him to appoint a commission to study the Haitian situation, was approved by the House. Chairman Borah of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee declared that he was not in favor of such an inquiry,

but would not stand in the way of it. "We have been in control of the situation in Haiti for fourteen years and are in possession of all the facts," said Senator Borah.

American and foreign critics of our policy in Haiti seized upon the disturbance in the island republic as a pretext for launching another attack on American imperialism. From Buenos Aires and Paris to Moscow an editorial campaign was conducted against American military activities in Haiti.

**S**ANTO DOMINGO—Concern over the possibility of the Haitian disturbances spreading across the Dominican border induced three Cabinet members and several other officials to go, on Dec. 11, to Port-au-Prince for a secret conference with Commissioner Russell. Conditions in the Dominican Republic were reported as none too stable since President Horacio Vazquez left to enter the Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore.

**N**ICARAGUA—President Moncada, in opening the Nicaraguan Congress on Dec. 15, declared that order had been restored and that such banditry as existed in Northern Nicaragua was unworthy of the name of revolution. Those marauders who attacked defenseless fellow-citizens, posed as defenders of national independence, "which appears to me," said President Moncada, "to be a poor excuse; for had the United States wished to seize Nicaragua they would not have sponsored the Tipitapa peace."

In his message to the Nicaraguan Congress, Señor Moncada announced a surplus of more than \$2,400,000 as a result of his first year of administration. He expressed the hope that 1930 would bring Nicaragua a railroad connecting the Atlantic coast with the interior of the republic.

## *Bolivian-Paraguayan Dispute Still Unsettled*

By HENRY GRATTAN DOYLE

PROFESSOR OF ROMANCE LANGUAGES AND DEAN OF THE LOWER DIVISION;  
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A SOLUTION OF the Gran Chaco territorial dispute, prospects for which were apparently bright only a few months ago, appeared at the time of writing to have become relatively remote. The expected renewal of diplomatic relations, agreement on which was one of the outstanding achievements of the Washington conciliation negotiations of last Spring and Summer, has not taken place. Difficulty has arisen over the arrangements for the restoration of the buildings of Fort Vanguardia by Paraguay and the abandonment of Fort Boquerón by Bolivia, "leaving it in the same state in which it was when occupied by Bolivian troops," as stated in the preamble of the resolution of conciliation adopted on Sept. 12, 1929, by the Commission of Inquiry and Conciliation and stated to be "entirely satisfactory to both parties." Disagreement has arisen between Paraguay and Bolivia over a point apparently not even considered by the commission, namely, whether Fort Boquerón should be abandoned without respect to the completion of the restoration of Fort Vanguardia or whether abandonment should await the completion of the work of restoration. In other words, must delivery of the forts to their respective original possessors be simultaneous?

It is understood that the Uruguayan proposal to the two parties does embody the principle of completion of the restoration of Fort Vanguardia by Paraguay before the delivery by Bolivia of Fort Boquerón. This proposal has been accepted by Bolivia but not by Paraguay, which in reply is reported to have suggested that the Uruguayan

officers should leave Montevideo simultaneously, but carry out their respective missions independently.

It was reported on Dec. 30 that Foreign Minister Domínguez of Uruguay would proceed to Asunción, the capital of Paraguay, in an effort to break the deadlock. At the same time Bolivia was said to have notified the Uruguayan Foreign Office that unless Paraguay accepted the latest proposal Bolivia would consider the negotiations at an end.

Further reports from Montevideo, on Jan. 5, quoted the latest Paraguayan proposal as being to this effect: that the Uruguayan officer charged with supervision of the evacuation of Fort Boquerón proceed there and inspect the fort to determine if it is in the same condition as when seized, and that if it is not in the same condition the Bolivians be required to restore it and evacuate it on the day when Paraguay begins the reconstruction of Fort Vanguardia. The Paraguayan note also claims that "the Bolivians have constructed several forts in the vicinity of Fort Boquerón, which will make it impossible for Paraguayan troops to re-occupy their former positions without danger of a new armed conflict." A day or two later *El Diario* of La Paz declared in an editorial that it had "indisputable proof" that Paraguay is conducting secret negotiations with neighboring countries for the purchase of arms and ammunitions, and added that "it is apparent that the government of Paraguay, in order to quiet a possible internal crisis, is willing to risk a grave international conflict."

Until this thorny and menacing situa-

tion is adjusted, hope of progress in the settlement of the main territorial question, concerning which there also appear to be fundamental differences of opinion, must obviously be deferred.

**A**RGENTINA—On Dec. 24 an attempt was made to assassinate President Hipólito Irigoyen of Argentina. Gualterio Marinelli, an Italian anarchist, fired five shots at the automobile in which the President and a commissioner of police were riding. The commissioner was gravely wounded, but the President escaped unharmed. The Presidential chauffeur probably saved the life of the President by zigzagging the car at top speed so that the assassin's shots went astray. Policemen shot Marinelli instantly, more than twenty bullets entering his body. President Irigoyen said that he regarded the incident as "unimportant," and did not seem disturbed.

President Irigoyen has issued a decree closing the "caja de conversión" (gold conversion office) against further export of Argentine gold pesos. This is apparently tantamount to the abandonment of a gold standard by Argentina. There is much concern over the differences of opinion regarding the probable yield of the wheat crop. If the government's official estimate is correct it means a decrease in the national income of \$60,000,000, because the estimate predicts 60,000,000 bushels less wheat this year.

On Dec. 28, *La Nación*, *La Razón* and *La Prensa* of Buenos Aires published reports that Argentina was negotiating a loan of \$100,000,000 in the United States. This was promptly denied by *La Epoca* and *La Calle*, government organs. The latter, owned by a member of the Cabinet, in issuing the denial, said: "This does not mean that some such financial operation will not be realized in the future, but the fact is that for the moment there is no truth in the report." The government did obtain a £5,000,000 short-term loan from London bankers on favorable terms, according to reports.

On Dec. 20 a Presidential message

to Congress recommended a budget for 1930 which, "on account of lack of time to study the matter," was practically a replica of the budget for 1929. The amount of the latter was 679,000,000 paper pesos (\$294,000,000). The budget for the succeeding year is ordinarily presented to Congress for consideration in May. In a vigorous editorial on Jan. 6 *La Prensa* attacked the President's recommendation, declaring last year's budget wholly unfit for this year's needs. The State railways, it charges, show an annual deficit which should be balanced instead of being partly covered, as it is alleged to be at present, by State bonds, in violation of good financial practice. The present administration, declares *La Prensa*, during its first three months in office spent at least \$32,000,000 in excess of the budget by authorizing expenditures without specifying the amounts. *La Prensa* also denies the truth of the defense set up by administration supporters that these expenditures were necessitated by the excesses of the former régime. On Jan. 8 the budget committee of the Chamber of Deputies recommended that the chamber accept the administration proposal.

The law school building of the University of Buenos Aires was seized by striking students on Dec. 14. The strike arose in protest against the dean of the law school, Juan P. Ramos, to whose iron discipline the students objected. Barricading themselves in the building, they demanded the resignation of the dean and announced their intention of holding out until their demands were granted. After a siege of forty-eight hours a group of policemen, headed by a Federal judge, were able to break into the building, finding most of the students asleep, worn out by their vigils and suffering from lack of food and water. On the night of the 16th a smaller group of students recaptured the building, but surrendered it when they were informed that the offending dean had resigned. The rector of the university, Dr. Ricardo Rojas, has assumed charge of the faculty of law. It will be remembered



that a similar student outbreak occurred in Mexico City last May.

**BOLIVIA**—Great political activity is looked for in Bolivia because of the Presidential election to be held in May, when a President will be chosen to take office on Aug. 6, 1930, for four years. The political situation is confused, all parties being disorganized and without leadership. Tomás Manuel Elio is reported as most likely to succeed President Siles. Señor Elio is a Liberal (the President is a Nationalist) and holds the post of Minister of Foreign Affairs, the President having appointed many political opponents to diplomatic and governmental posts following the clash with Paraguay.

**BRAZIL**—On Dec. 26, in the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies at Rio de Janeiro, Deputy Souza Filho was slain by one of his colleagues, Deputy Simoes Lopes. Filho was one of the leaders of the administration group, while Lopes is the chief of the Liberal party executive committee. It was reported that Lopes's son had struck Filho with a cane during a violent political discussion, and that when the latter drew a dagger Lopes shot Filho to protect his son. Lopes is under arrest.

National elections in Brazil will take place in March. The administration slate is Julio Prestes (Governor of the State of Sao Paulo) for President, and Vital Soares (Governor of the State of Bahia) for Vice President. The Liberal Alliance candidates are Getulio Vargas and Joao Pessoa. Getulio Vargas read a speech setting forth his platform at an open-air mass meeting on Jan. 3, this being an unprecedented political procedure in Brazil. Political platforms have usually been presented at dinners attended almost solely by political leaders. Governor Prestes announced his platform at such a gathering on Dec. 18 of the year just passed, pledging himself to a continuation of the present administration's policies with respect to financial stabilization, the Coffee Institute, road building and the

development of agriculture, industry and electric power production. The successful candidate will take office in succession to President Washington Luis on Nov. 15, 1930.

**CHILE**—On Jan. 6 the Chilean Government put into effect an extraordinary budget for 1930, providing for expenditure of 390,797,575 pesos (\$46,895,709). More than 200,000,000 pesos (\$24,000,000) of this amount will be devoted to public works, highways, modernization of cities, colonization of the Magellan territory and development of industries. The budget authorizes President Carlos Ibáñez to contract an internal or external loan of 250,000,000 pesos (\$30,000,000) to finance the first section of the budget.

An International Railroad Exposition opened in Santiago on Dec. 12, 1929, in the grounds of the Agricultural School. The United States was represented by a large exhibit of machinery for railroads, highways and engineering work. Ten South American countries were represented.

Chilean and Argentine business men are forming an International Chamber for Commercial Arbitration, which will undertake to settle commercial disputes between citizens, firms or enterprises of one country and those of another.

**COLOMBIA**—The Presidential election in Colombia will take place on the first Monday in February. The Conservative party has two candidates, Guillermo Valencia and Alfredo Vásquez Cobo. Valencia is the official Conservative candidate, having been nominated by the party directorate and by a majority vote of the party in Congress. He is a former Senator and one of the foremost poets of Latin America. Vásquez Cobo is the insurgent Conservative candidate, but received only ten votes less than Valencia, namely, 45 to 55. He is an engineer and is called the "Bryan of Colombia" because of his many political setbacks. He was defeated in the Presidential campaigns of 1913, 1917, 1921 and 1925. He has

shown real administrative ability in his management of the Pacific Railroad. A third candidate, Alberto Castrillón, nominated by the Socialist Revolutionaries party, is thought to have very little chance of success.

The Presidential campaign bears some resemblance to the 1912 campaign in the United States, the Conservative party, numerically the largest, being divided between a "regular" and an "insurgent" candidate, giving the minority party a chance, at least, for success. Dr. Enrique Olaya, the Liberal nominee, Colombian Minister to the United States, is supported by progressive elements of various sorts.

Leading politicians in Colombia are proposing the abolition of the present system of selecting Presidential candidates by a majority vote in Congress and adopting the system used in the United States—selection of candidates at party conventions.

Colombia will cut its budget for 1930 by about \$30,000,000, according to the Minister of Finance. The low price of coffee will make the 1930 exports of that crop worth about \$47,000,000 less than the 1928 exports, it is estimated.

Dr. José Vicente Concha, Ambassador from Colombia to the Vatican, died on Dec. 9, 1929, in Rome.

**PARAGUAY**—On Dec. 13, 1929, the state of martial law proclaimed three months before by President José P. Guggiari was extended for another three months by decision of the Council of State. Activities of anti-administration agitators were given as the reason for the original proclamation.

**ECUADOR**—President Ayora has apparently not been able to carry out his plans to curtail the budget. A proposed cut in the army is reported as having been prevented by the opposition of the Ministry of War. According to reports there will probably be a shortage in funds for road-building, sanitation and public instruction. Taxes on gambling places are reported to have defrayed the expenses of public

schools, but beginning Jan. 1 a new law forbidding the operation of gambling places was to be enforced and receipts from this source eliminated.

It was reported on Jan. 8 that the Government of Ecuador was preparing the basis for a loan of 30,000,000 sucres (approximately \$6,000,000) to be devoted to public works. It was expected that the loan would be arranged with American bankers.

The Foreign Office has completed the work of gathering all the documents concerning the boundary dispute with Peru, covering the years 1910 to 1929. Under the provisions of the protocol of 1924 the United States was designated as arbiter of the dispute, provided the principals could agree on the limitation of the zone to be submitted to arbitration.

**PERU**—On Dec. 11, 1929, President Hoover and President Leguía exchanged felicitations when the radio-telephone circuit of the International Telephone and Telegraph Company between Sayville, Long Island, and Lima, Peru, was opened.

A decree was published on Dec. 15 providing that all sales and business contracts in Peru should be settled in Peruvian currency.

**VENEZUELA**—On Dec. 17, 1929, Venezuela celebrated 100 years of independence, the occasion being the 100th anniversary of an assembly of prominent Venezuelans in Caracas, which decreed the separation of Venezuela from Colombia. This step was in opposition to the plans of Simón Bolívar for a unified South America. Venezuela, frequently suffering from internal discord, is nevertheless one of the most prosperous of the smaller countries of the world. On Dec. 19, the twenty-first anniversary of "national rehabilitation" was celebrated, that day marking the ascendancy to the Presidency of General Juan Vicente Gómez, following the abdication of President Cipriano Castro in 1908. General Gómez was President from 1908 until last year.

## *The Indian Demand for Independence*

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CONSTITUTIONAL methods of determining the relations between British India and Great Britain and solving the international problems of the Indian Empire were discarded by the Indian National Congress at its meeting at Lahore during the last week of December. Carrying out the ultimatum issued a year ago at Calcutta, this unofficial nationalist body, representing a large proportion of the educated Indians who are the political leaders of a population of perhaps 150,000,000, declared independence and not dominion status within the British Empire to be the immediate goal of their people. They also formulated a program of action—or inaction—designed to force Great Britain to recognize the independence which they claim. To this end the Congress authorized its executive committee to launch a national program of civil disobedience and non-cooperation with the government, including the non-payment of taxes, and to call upon all Indian members of the national and provincial Legislatures to refuse to have anything more to do with these assemblies. It also voted to boycott the round table conference proposed by the British Labor Government for the consideration of the political problems of India. On Jan. 2 the executive committee fixed Jan. 26 as the date for a nation-wide demonstration supporting the new creed of the Congress, which was defined as *puran swaraj* (complete independence).

It is impossible at the moment to estimate accurately the importance of the decision of the Congress. Both the press and the leading public men of India and of Great Britain believed, however, that the choice which the nationalists made might have momentous results in two directions. It was feared

that the political non-cooperation of the leaders who are members of the Congress party might bring to an abrupt end the orderly constitutional development toward Indian self-government which it was the purpose of the Government of India act of 1919 to make possible; and that the refusal of the Indian masses to recognize the authority of the government might lead to widespread disorder and even bloodshed. True, the nationalist leaders deprecated violence. Their opponents, however, declared that their actions would inevitably and speedily lead to it, indeed, had already done so. To support their position they pointed to the record of the past year. It includes an ever-increasing amount of general disorder, the assassination of police officials, the bombing of the Legislative Assembly and, finally, on Dec. 23, the attempted assassination of the Viceroy. While the leaders have condemned the crimes which have been committed by their followers, they have joined in making martyrs and heroes of the criminals. Even the resolution presented in the Congress itself, congratulating the Viceroy on his narrow escape from death, was carried by only 897 to 816 votes.

In addition to the danger of irresponsible violence against Britishers and moderate Indians, it was also pointed out that in any period of disorder the widespread hatred of the Mohammedans and the Sikhs for the Hindus might well flame into civil war. Indeed, while the Congress was in session from 9,000 to 12,000 armed and warlike Sikhs marched into Lahore to express their contempt for the nationalist politicians and to secure redress for what they consider to be grievances against them. As has so often happened before, British authority protected those who

were attacking it from the assault of foes against whom they could not for a moment have stood unaided.

Of organized rebellion, in the military sense, the British seemed to have little fear. The 70,000,000 Mohammedans, the 30,000,000 "untouchables," the 70,000,000 inhabitants of the native States and the 3,000,000 Sikhs, it was believed, probably could be counted on to remain loyal to the British Raj. The remaining 147,000,000 natives, Hindu subjects of British India above the "untouchables" in caste, could hardly constitute a military threat to British supremacy, even were they united behind the National Congress, but they are not united. On Dec. 30 the Indian National Liberal Federation passed resolutions welcoming the Viceroy's recent announcement concerning India's future and accepting the proposed round table conference in London. It is not at all certain that the more moderate national statesmen who were defeated by the radicals at Lahore will accept the decision of the majority of the Congress. Yet the name of Mahatma Gandhi is still a potent one with the Hindu masses, 93 per cent of whom are illiterate, and while successful rebellion was deemed impossible, it was considered not unlikely that disorders sufficiently widespread to do India infinite economic and social injury might occur within the next few months.

If there seemed to be little likelihood that the campaign for immediate independence instituted by the radical nationalists would constitute a serious threat to British sovereignty in India,

it was generally feared that the non-cooperation of the elements represented by the congress would paralyze the political development of the country along the lines of modern constitutionalism.

Furthermore, Great Britain would be placed in the position of ruling the Indian people by sheer force. Law and administration would lack the vital sanction of popular support which is now imparted to it, to a degree, by the participation of the natural leaders of the people themselves in the legislative and administrative branches of the government. In other words, the great project of gradually developing India along modified Western lines until she might be qualified for equal membership in the British Commonwealth of Nations would seem to have failed. The appeal of this body of educated Indians from constitutionalism to revolution, albeit a strange, typically Indian type of revolution, therefore, carries political significance of the gravest character. If the position taken by Gandhi and his associates should be adhered to, one of the fundamental assumptions upon which the recent Indian policy of Great Britain rests, the assumption that Indians and Britishers can and will work together during the period of preparation for complete Indian self-government would be called gravely into question. Possibly the whole of her Indian policy might have to be reconsidered by Great Britain, with effects highly important to Anglo-Indian relations, to the British Empire, and, indeed, to the relations between the East and the West generally.

### Other Events in the British Empire

**G**REAT BRITAIN—Parliament adjourned on Dec. 24, the ensuing interval not only relieving the government from the strain and labor of the daily sessions of the House of Commons, but leaving Prime Minister MacDonald and his colleagues free for the momentous negotiations of the naval conference. For other reasons the breathing spell from the political strife at Westminster doubtless was grateful

to the Labor Cabinet. Although the government's unemployment insurance measure was finally passed on Dec. 16, by a comfortable majority, the still more difficult and contentious bill for the rehabilitation of the coal mining industry was carried on its second reading on Dec. 20 by the narrow majority of only eight votes.

Full diplomatic relations between Great Britain and Soviet Russia were



resumed on Dec. 20, when the Prince of Wales, acting for King George, received the credentials of Gregory Sokolnikov as Ambassador from the Soviet Union at the Court of St. James's. The recognition of the Soviet Government implied by the reception of its Ambassador was granted only upon condition that the Soviet Union abstain from subversive propaganda within the British Empire. In a statement issued soon after his formal reception the new Ambassador declared: "We have every intention of fulfilling loyally any obligations we undertake, and at the same time we rely upon countries in friendly relations with us to take into account on their side the unalterable basis of our political and economic system."

At a meeting on Dec. 20 between representatives of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, the National Confederation of Employers' Organizations and the Federation of British Industries a permanent method of consultation and cooperation between organized labor and organized capital in Great Britain was unanimously approved. The agreement, which had already been sanctioned by the Trades Union Congress, was reached as the result of the conferences instituted more than a year ago by Lord Melchett (formerly Sir Alfred Mond). It provides for a definite procedure to be followed in the friendly consideration of a large number of subjects of mutual interest to employers and employees, and was hailed as a momentous step in the direction of permanent industrial peace in Great Britain.

**CANADA**—Although efforts of the Canadian manufacturers of newsprint to advance the price of that commodity from \$55 to \$60 per ton have apparently failed for the time being, a statement of the attitude of the government of Quebec upon this question made on Dec. 16 by Premier Taschereau indicated that the Canadians do not consider the matter closed. After stating that Canada is now producing 60 per cent of the paper manufactured on this continent, although two years

ago they produced less than half of it, Mr. Taschereau declared:

Both the governments of Quebec and Ontario have come to the conclusion that \$60 a ton is a fair price, and \$60 a ton should be paid by the purchasers. \* \* \* This government will not by legislation fix the price of paper. \* \* \* But I do say that it is a duty upon this government, on those who administer the affairs of Quebec and it is the same with Ontario, to see to it that the forests are not depleted without our people having fair returns for the trees cut down.

The International Paper Company, the dominant American producer, announced on Dec. 21 that it would offer the present rate of \$55 per ton until July 1.

**AUSTRALIA**—Once again has the economic life of Australia been disrupted by serious labor disputes in the mining industry, accompanied by threats of a general strike throughout the Commonwealth. On Dec. 16 and 17 violent attacks were made by 8,000 miners from all parts of the northern coal fields upon a mine which the New South Wales Government was seeking to keep open with volunteer labor. In pitched battles between police and the strikers two men were killed and many injured. Efforts were being made by the Coal and Shale Employees' Federation to extend the strike to other States for the purpose of legalizing intervention of the Federal Government.

The origin and history of the strike is illustrative of the chronic difficulties which have arisen in Australia out of the enforcement of the State and Federal statutes with reference to the compulsory arbitration of labor disputes. The New South Wales operators having reduced wages, a conference between their representatives and those of the miners' unions was called in November to settle the resulting dispute. The conference agreed to a reduction of wages. On Dec. 6 the agreement made by their leaders was repudiated by a meeting of 4,000 miners. The rejection was a victory for the militant faction within the union, and other mass meetings fol-

lowed the lead of the first one. In this situation the New South Wales government took the position that the production of coal was a necessary service, and that, the terms of the agreement having been rejected by the miners, the State would protect volunteer workers in the operation of the mines. The mass of the miners regarded this decision as a declaration of war, and acted accordingly.

The Twelfth Commonwealth Parliament was opened by Lord Stonehaven, the Governor General at Canberra, on Nov. 20, and has since been engaged in formulating as much as possible of the legislation called for by the election promises of the Labor party. Revision of the tariff has, perhaps, been most fully in the public eye, the proposed increase in protection having alarmed many local interests and given rise to some dissatisfaction and apprehension in Great Britain. Other matters of major importance which have been under consideration are the existing legislation with reference to the arbitration of industrial disputes and to immigration. The budget revealed a growing national deficit, and contained proposals to increase the revenue by substantial increases in the income tax.

In the State of Victoria the Nationalist Government fell on Dec. 11 and was succeeded by a Labor Cabinet under the Premiership of Edmund Hogan. The shift in power followed a State election in which the balance of power fell to the small Country Progressive party, this organization later electing to turn out the Nationalists and replace them with a Labor government.

**NEW ZEALAND**—On Dec. 29 a riot in which a white constable, a ranking Samoan chief and seven of his followers were killed and many others injured occurred in that portion of Samoa which is governed by New Zealand under mandate from the League of Nations. The incident occurred when members of the Mau (League of Samoan Natives) attempted to prevent the arrest of Alfred G. Smyth, a retired merchant who had returned to the island in defiance of a deportation order issued against him in 1928 for inciting sedition and resistance of public authority.

Announcement was made in December that John Collins, Secretary of the Department of Industries and Commerce, had been appointed the first New Zealand Trade Commissioner in Canada.

#### FRANCE AND BELGIUM

### *Tardieu Cabinet's Budget Difficulties*

**D**EBATE ON foreign policy during the past month alternated with discussion of the 1930 budget in the French Parliament and resulted each time in victory for the government, so that Premier Tardieu and Foreign Minister Briand left on Jan. 2 for The Hague conference with their hands free.

In the Senate on Dec. 20, on the eve of the Young plan plebiscite in Germany, M. Briand defended his policies against charges that they were endangering national security and weakening the Versailles Treaty. M. Briand's

answer that he was substituting for armed force further sanctions to guarantee national security brought him a vote of 267 to 2. The attack was taken up again on Dec. 23, this time in the Chamber, where, led by Deputy Franklin-Bouillon, it continued until Dec. 28, M. Tardieu upholding and amplifying M. Briand's statements. A vote of 342 to 17 on Dec. 27, and finally of 316 to 271 on Dec. 28, assured full support to the delegates to the two conferences.

Internally France faces the new year in a more prosperous condition than in any year since the end of the war,

despite a trade deficit of some 7,529,000,000 francs. There is no unemployment question, since a statement on Nov. 30 puts the figure as low as 577; a tax reduction of 1,500,000,000 francs, which became effective on Jan. 1 by a vote in the Chamber of 465 to 1, provides for a 2 per cent reduction in taxes on salaried incomes and a 50 per cent reduction in taxes on luxury articles, with other cuts in sugar, mineral waters and electrical power taxes; there is a surplus from the 1929 budget and treasury funds, while the government, in spite of a strong opposition, seems, as long as Briand and Tardieu remain in alliance, to be able to command an even stronger position.

Of purely domestic affairs, the question of the budget for the year 1930, proposed as approximately 50,000,000,000 francs, or \$2,000,000,000, and the impending tax reduction were of most importance. As regards the budget, M. Tardieu's aim from Dec. 1 onward was, if possible, to put it through before Parliament adjourned on Jan. 1. This was not accomplished, although the tax reduction of 1,500,000,000 francs was adopted.

On Dec. 3 Tardieu made an earnest plea for expediting the budget discussion. This question was debated on Dec. 5, when the Chamber gave Tardieu a confidence vote of 350 to 142, which committed that body to meeting three times a day, including Sundays, until the budget be adopted. The debate was considered one of the important tests of the strength of the Tardieu Government.

That item of the budget which caused most discussion was the appropriation for the promotion of French security. Deputy Lafont on Dec. 7 presented the estimates for the home army and for overseas defense. For the former, consisting of 277,000 men enrolled in one capacity or another, he said 4,500,000,000 francs, or approximately \$180,000,000, was necessary, and for the latter 1,750,000,000 francs, the total demanded being something over 6,000,000,000 francs, or approximately \$259,000,000. On Dec. 9 this



THE PAN-EUROPEAN  
FIRMAMENT

"The old moon gets thinner and thinner  
and the man in the moon gets bigger  
and bigger"

—Kladderadatsch, Berlin

war budget was attacked in the Chamber by the Radical-Socialists led by Edouard Daladier, who contended that the final figure would be much higher. Expressing approval of the division of expenses as far as it went, he said that supplementary expenses would bring the sum to 8,450,000,000 francs and that adding exceptional expenses the final figure would be 14,000,000,000. The appropriation for the navy, submitted at the same time, was 2,583,000,000 francs, about \$103,320,000, which is slightly over one-quarter of the cost of the United States Navy. The debate was continued on Dec. 11, in the course of which M. Tardieu received two votes of confidence. The first was in connection with a Radical-Socialist proposal that the pay of privates receive a 1-franc increase. This the government opposed on the ground that it would cost an additional 120,000,000 francs and upset the budget

balance. The proposal was defeated, but discussion was renewed when an increase of 50 centimes was proposed. The government was again victorious, as it was also the same day in securing rejection of a Left proposal to reduce service periods in the reserve corps from twenty-one to fifteen days.

In the midst of the budget discussion M. Tardieu made his first appearance before the Senate, where his policies, internal and external, received a vote of approval of 203 to 42, a vote which authorized the necessary credits for installing the new Ministry. "It has been said that I am too optimistic," he remarked. "But is it over optimistic to look at the map of Europe and take note that France, with the exception of Russia, occupies the most favored place in respect both to extent and situation? Is it over optimistic to see that our colonial empire ranks second in the world? Our ambition—and for a government ambition becomes duty—is to put France in a position to enjoy the benefits of her advantages."

This speech was, a day or two later, the subject for an attack on the government in the Chamber, where M. Tardieu was accused by Radical-Socialist and Socialist Deputies of attempting the rôle of a Napoleon or a Mussolini. M. Tardieu's answer to criticism was that so far his accomplishments—agricultural reform, the introduction of a bill permitting better examination of future budgets, and a bill for the improvement of national equipment—had been in direct line with majority government policy. The next day the government received a confidence vote of 331 to 167.

Along with the war budget debate came a discussion and the eventual passing on Dec. 28 of a bill voting credits of 3,300,000,000 francs for fortification of frontiers for the five years 1930-1934, 400,000 francs being for aerial defense and 10,000,000,000 to be made immediately available out of the 1929 budgetary surplus.

The arrival in Paris of Walter Edge, recently appointed United States Ambassador to France, has again directed

the attention of Americans to the French tariff which is now being drawn up by the Ministry of Commerce and to the question of double taxation. As regards the tariff, the most important items are the duties on automobiles, trucks and auto parts. The tariff schedule is in two parts, the first on completed cars, which is expected to raise the tax to 90 per cent ad valorem, and the second on car parts, which appeared on Dec. 28, and which triples and quadruples the existing rates. American manufacturers claim that such duties will drive their cars from the French market. Mr. Edge has called the attention of the French Minister of Commerce to the danger of retaliation on the part of our government.

Attempts were being made by our government to construe the French tariff proposals as discriminating against the United States, in which case an official protest could be made by our State Department and an official warning given of the danger of American retaliation. It was thought, however, that it would be difficult to prove the schedule as direct discrimination, as it applies to all foreign cars. On Jan. 10 further protests were voiced by representatives of all the American automobile companies selling products in French markets.

President Doumergue on Dec. 30, acting on the pleas of a number of Radical Deputies, signed a decree of pardon to Léon Daudet, former member of the Chamber, a French royalist, and an editor of *L'Action Française*. M. Daudet was imprisoned for libel two years ago in connection with the death of his son, who was found mysteriously shot in a taxicab. The chauffeur of the car was exonerated by the police but accused of murder by Daudet in his columns. He was imprisoned, but escaped shortly after his conviction, and has since been living in voluntary exile in Belgium, from where he has daily attacked the French Government in his newspaper. The Presidential decree also granted pardon to twelve Communists imprisoned for distributing Red propaganda.



The bitterness between Left and Right over the question of national defense and security was further intensified in the early part of January by the appointment as Chief of the General Staff of the French Army (replacing General Debeney) of General Maxime Weygand, Marshal Foch's right-hand man during the later stages of the war. His appointment was approved by the Right, which expressed increasing confidence in the enforcement of French security and in the ridding of the army of Bolshevik tendencies. The Left has unequivocally expressed its anger and has used Weygand's appointment as an excuse for a general attack in the press on the Tardieu Government, saying: "His appointment is a provocation to the working class of the republic. He is the standard bearer of all the hopes of reactionaries and clericals. Put in power by the Right, by the Fascisti and by the Jesuits, he will, as Chief of Staff, do the work of the Right. His appointment and the return of Léon Daudet are the most symbolic gestures which could have been given of the character of the government and majority."

The death, at the age of 91, of Emile

Loubet, President of the French Republic from 1899 till 1906, took place on Dec. 30.

**BELGIUM**—The government project to make Flemish the official language of the University of Ghent, which was responsible for the November crisis in the Belgian Cabinet, was resubmitted to the Chamber of Deputies for discussion on Dec. 11. The Liberals attacked the bill, proposed to become effective during the year 1930-31, on the grounds that the introduction of Flemish as the official language would force several of the scientific courses to move to Liège, where the language is more widely understood.

The crisis in the diamond market, resulting in part from the recent slump in Wall Street, led in December to the Belgian diamond cutters' syndicate agreeing to cut down work in diamond cutting to three days a week. A complete halt was called on Dec. 11, and so favorably affected the diamond demand that the closing down was continued from Dec. 19 to Jan. 6, when it was decided that the three-day-week schedule should be resumed, with output somewhat reduced.

M. K. M.

#### THE TEUTONIC COUNTRIES

## *"Liberty Law" Fiasco a Blow to German Nationalists*

By **SIDNEY B. FAY**

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**T**HE REFERENDUM on Dr. Hugenberg's "liberty law," by which the Nationalists sought to secure a popular condemnation at one stroke of Germany's "war guilt" and the Young plan, proved a huge fiasco. In the voting on Dec. 22 only about 6,000,000 persons out of Germany's 41,500,000 qualified voters took the trouble to cast a ballot in favor of the Nationalist proposal. This was only 14 per cent of the electorate, or about 10 per

cent more than the number which signed the petition to have a referendum. The fiasco has acted as a boom-crang upon the personal prestige of Dr. Hugenberg and the power of his party. With this vote out of the way the Cabinet was ready to send its delegation to The Hague early in January to take part in the further discussions of certain preliminary details for the adoption of the Young plan.

On Dec. 6, however, more than a



## DAWES PLAN OR YOUNG PLAN?

"A difficult choice"

—Kladderadatsch, Berlin

fortnight before the referendum, the Cabinet was embarrassed by a sudden memorandum made public by Dr. Schacht, the president of the Reichsbank and one of the authors of the Young plan. He asserted that his government had made dangerous concessions at The Hague conference in the preceding August, especially in regard to certain balances arising from the overlapping of the Dawes and Young plans and in regard to the Belgian demands for reimbursement for paper money forced upon them during the war. The purport of Schacht's memorandum was "Back to the Young Plan" in its original form as drawn up by the Young committee of experts at Paris. He also criticized the government severely for failure to introduce tax and budgetary reforms and sounded the warning that Germany was heading toward insolvency. His criticism caused all the more excitement since it was exactly in line with a similar warning made at the same time by Dr. Kastl, the chairman of a federation representing the great industrialists. It also recalled some of the gentle but firm hints given earlier by S. Parker Gilbert, Agent General for Reparations.

Taken by surprise, the Cabinet at first refused to discuss Dr. Schacht's warning memorandum. But in his statement before the Reichstag on Dec. 12 Chancellor Hermann Mueller had to admit, to the alarm of the members, that the Reich's exchequer would show at the end of the year a deficit of about 1,700,000,000 marks. He explained that this represented the accumulated budgetary shortages of several preceding years and could not all be blamed upon his Cabinet. He added that by somewhat hectic financing he had secured domestic credits covering temporarily about 1,370,000,000 marks of the deficit. This left him with the problem of raising immediately 330,000,000 marks to meet December payrolls and current expenses. It was rumored that he was negotiating with Dillon, Read & Co. of New York for a foreign loan to meet this immediate need. At the same time Chancellor Mueller stated that his new tax reform program would bring in new revenues; that the increase of one-half of 1 per cent in the premium charges for unemployment insurance would yield 140,000,000 marks, while the added impost on tobacco products would produce 220,000,000 in new revenues.

He closed with an attempt to refute Schacht's criticism of the government's failure to hold more rigidly to the original Young plan and its concessions at The Hague.

As a result of Schacht's criticisms of German finance, together with Mueller's revelations in the Reichstag, it is probable that Dillon, Read & Co. became hesitant about making the loan. At any rate when the Chancellor asked for a vote of confidence and approval of negotiations for the American loan, he was supported on Dec. 18 by a vote of 239 to 138. But Dr. Schacht then persuaded the advisory board which has authority over foreign loans to disapprove it. At the same time he offered to provide the credits so urgently needed by the government, provided they adopted certain tax and budget reforms on which he had been insisting. By arrangement with the leading Berlin and Prussian banks he secured for the government a loan of 350,000,000 marks to run until October, 1930, and to be redeemed by monthly instalments out of a special sinking fund created for the purpose. Incidentally he secured the loan at a considerably lower rate of interest than would have been charged by the American bankers, and thus made a considerable saving for the government.

Another result of these financial discussions was a shake-up in the Cabinet. Dr. Rudolph Hilferding, the Socialist Minister of Finance, resigned his portfolio on Dec. 21. It is surmised that no love was lost between him and Dr. Schacht. After the collapse of his financial program and loan negotiations through the intervention of Dr. Schacht, it was futile for his Socialist party friends to attempt to rescue him from the criticism and financial bog into which he had been rapidly sinking.

Dr. Hilferding's place as Minister of Finance was at once filled by the appointment of Dr. Paul Moldenhauer, who had held the post of Minister of Economics in the Mueller Cabinet since Nov. 11. He, in turn, is succeeded as Minister of Economics by Robert Schmidt, a veteran Socialist parliamen-

tarian. Except for a brief intermission he has been a member of the Reichstag since 1893. He was one of the early editors of the Socialist newspaper *Vorwaerts* and has been a prominent leader in the Federation of Labor Unions, but is counted among the conservative elements of his party.

The main attention of Germany at the opening of the new year is centred on the meeting of delegates at The Hague to discuss the details of the International Bank and the other subsidiary questions which must be settled before the Young plan can go into operation. The German delegation is composed of Foreign Minister Julius Curtius, Finance Minister Paul Moldenhauer and Minister of Economics Robert Schmidt, together with former Chancellor Joseph Wirth, Minister of the Occupied Areas, and the usual troop of financial and statistical experts. General regret was expressed in Germany that Dr. Schacht was not a member of the delegation. It was said in parliamentary circles that he had refused to go to The Hague because the Cabinet would not endorse all the points in his December memorandum of criticism relating to the Young plan and the problems connected with it. Dr. Schacht is undoubtedly the ablest and wisest expert on international finance in Germany and is well acquainted with the details of the Young plan, which he helped to frame in Paris last Spring, while Curtius, Moldenhauer and Schmidt have hardly been in office long enough to become thoroughly familiar with their duties and the financial problems facing Germany at The Hague.

During the first few days of The Hague conference little progress has been made on the questions of whether Germany shall pay in the middle or at the end of the month; whether the agreement shall explicitly state that France may resort to "sanctions" to enforce German payments in case the Nationalists should come into power in Germany and try to repudiate the sums promised in the Young plan, and whether the Bulgarian reparations shall be

scaled down and the Austrian reparations canceled altogether. After several days of futile negotiation the German delegation telegraphed to Dr. Schacht to come to The Hague in the hope that he might be able to expedite a final settlement.

Meanwhile Germany has reached a separate agreement with the United States covering the American claims growing out of the World War. From 1930 to 1981 Germany is to pay annuities of \$9,760,000 on American claims awarded under the German-American Mixed Claims Commission, and from 1930 to 1966 an annual sum varying between \$3,923,000 and \$9,043,000 on the American Government's claims for the Army of Occupation costs in arrears. Both amounts are to be paid on March 31 and Sept. 30 in promissory notes which cannot be mobilized by the United States; that is, they are not to be sold to private individuals, which would effectively prevent the possibility of their being scaled down at a later time. In case of transfer difficulties Germany may ask the postponement of any instalment for thirty months. "Germany's good faith" is the only guarantee demanded by the United States that Germany will fulfill these obligations; it is this clause in the American agreement which the German delegation at The Hague is using as an argument that France ought to be satisfied with a similar guarantee and ought not, therefore, to insist on sanctions. As a curious result of American fear of being entangled in European international arrangements, it is provided that German payments are to be made direct to the United States and not through the medium of the International Bank. Americans, however, took

a prime part in drawing up the Young plan with the provision that Germany is to make reparation payments to all her other creditors through the International Bank.

In spite of the budget difficulties noted above and in spite of the fact that the number of unemployed rose above 2,000,000 at the beginning of January, Germany enters the year 1930 in a stronger economic and political position and with less pessimism than at any time since the war. This is in the hope and on the supposition that the Young plan will soon come into operation. Germany's great need is more capital, but she does not like to borrow great sums abroad because she is already so heavily indebted abroad with former borrowings and reparations obligations. Further borrowings will, in the long run, only increase the difficulty of making the necessary transfer of interest and reparations payments, and under the Young plan about 700,000,000 marks of the reparations payments no longer enjoy any "transfer protection."

German trade and industry during 1929, on the whole, have been tolerably satisfactory. The total exports for the first eleven months of 1929, including reparations deliveries in kind, were valued at 12,450,000,000 marks, as against 12,421,000,000 marks of imports. These figures indicate a probable slight but favorable export balance for the whole year, as compared with a heavy unfavorable average trade balance for the five preceding years. There has, however, been a sharp decline of 24 per cent in the average price of shares on the Berlin stock market in the course of the year.



## *Spanish Dictator Announces New Government Plans*

By ELOISE ELLERY

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**S**PECULATION IS STILL RIFE as to the outcome of the present situation in Spain (the subject of an article by Julio Alvarez del Vayo on pages 934-941 of this magazine), for at this writing there is no definite sign of the changes which are thought to be pending. Nevertheless various interesting developments are reported.

During the past month the Spanish Government announced a change in policy in regard to the foreign press, namely, the removal of the censorship. This action was taken, it is asserted, in order to prevent foreign news readers from inferring from such uncensored and often exaggerated stories as filter through the frontier that conditions are more alarming than is really the case. In other words, the government wishes to restore confidence abroad in the news from Spain. Press cards are to be issued to foreign correspondents who have previously had no official recognition and cooperation will be given to them in obtaining interviews and news. Freedom, however, will not be absolute. While writers may criticize the government freely, and while their individual messages will not be read by the censor, they are warned that the cards will be taken away "if harmful or deliberate lies are printed."

As far as domestic publications were concerned, it was stated that the censorship would continue. It has not, however, been enforced with any degree of uniformity. For instance, Major Ramon Franco, the aviator, because of the publication of a book showing his difficulties with the Directorate while planning his transatlantic flight, was put on the

supernumerary list of the Spanish Army. This means the suppression of his pay and the practical end of his military career. Nor was this all. In company with several other army officers, he was subsequently arrested in a Madrid café charged with talking against the government. On the other hand, Francisco Cambo, who recently published a book entitled *Dictatorship*, in which he expressed himself in no uncertain terms on the evils of the system, was not molested. As he is one of the richest men in Spain the government may have thought it the part of discretion not to disturb him. Although he does not assail the Spanish dictatorship directly, his views on dictatorship in general are far from flattering:

A dictatorship wastes away zeal for citizenship, making the State a great syndicate of egotism secluded from the citizenry in its business and personal interests, so that in the long run it adds a load to the crisis from which it has originated. It favors dishonesty because, even though carrying on a heroic task, the integrity and vigilance of a dictator can not supply the coaction [sic] of prosecutors, of Parliament, of the press, of free opinion. It foment individual and collective cowardice that begins in timorous silence and ends in depraved conformity.

By taking advantage of this, at the end of some years the dictatorship ignores the public concept of its authority and labor, knows nothing of the aspirations and sentiments of the country, and perhaps imagines itself strong and triumphant, when it is worn out and hated. It extinguishes political vocations and pushes those interested in a revolutionary direction. Nearly all organizations that can be schools of

politics and government disappear or are interrupted under a dictatorship, and this one cause makes difficult and dangerous substitution for a dictatorship, so much more when substitution may be deferred.

With the anticipated loosening of the censorship the newspaper *El Sol* proposed that the opinions of youth on the government be published daily. This was immediately frowned upon in a semi-official note, which declared that if such freedom were allowed there would be danger that only the opinion of youth representing the Left would be allowed to appear. "We have not lost sight," the note continued, "of the lamentable absence of spirituality and forgetfulness of Christian principles that characterize part of our materialistic youth of today."

In order apparently to prevent the spread of extreme views the authorities are considering a plan to create separate detention camps or prisons for Syndicalists or Communists convicted of violating Spanish laws. Thus far these prisoners have been held in prisons with ordinary offenders, who, it has been found, when liberated often go home with new, and from the point of view of the government, exceedingly dangerous ideas.

Toward the army as well as toward the press the government shows a varying attitude. On Dec. 7 it was announced that on the eve of a celebration in honor of the patron saint of the infantry an amnesty had been granted to numerous army officers charged with various offenses. The list included Castro Girona, former Captain General of Valencia, who was implicated in the Sanchez Guerra revolt last January, but did not include Guerra himself nor others awaiting immediate trial. This amnesty is interpreted as a brilliant move, calculated to strengthen Primo de Rivera's popularity in the army.

Shortly after this announcement the trial of the officers implicated in the Ciudad Real affair was held. They were sentenced by the Supreme Army and Navy Court on Dec. 19. The court revoked the three death sentences pro-

nounced by a lower court, and Colonel Paz and the others involved received prison terms ranging from one to eleven years. All the penalties were higher than those originally inflicted. Only five out of the thirty-four accused were freed. Guerra and the others involved in the Valencia revolt will be tried later.

Meanwhile the all-absorbing question in political circles is whether the dictatorship is going to continue. Throughout the month of December there were rumors and counter-rumors and Spain faced the new year with great uncertainty as to its political future. Would Premier Primo de Rivera resign or be forced out? If so, when? Who would be his successor? Would it be Francisco Cambo, the author of the book on *Dictatorship* or a popular general in the army? What is the relation between the Premier and the King? If the Premier remained in office how far and how soon and by what steps would he go toward the restoration of normal constitutional government? The Premier's attitude to these questions has not been clear or consistent. It is pointed out that he has changed his position as to whether the dictatorship is to give way to so-called normalcy four times within two months.

In a communiqué issued on Dec. 16 the Premier said: "To avoid unnecessary difficulties I have given up the idea of implanting a constitution under my government. Whenever I can be certain that straightforward and intelligent men can take over the control and give Spain a good government and prosperity, I intend to resign within the course of the coming year, but until I can be assured of this I must feel obliged to continue in power, come what may, whether I am in ill health or not."

Commenting on the situation a few days later *La Nación*, a government organ said in an editorial: "The Spanish people, conscious of their force, do not wish a return of the false legalities of the past. Legality has stood here in the past for false elections, corruption,

irresponsibility and personal insecurity, with sections of the country in a state of rebellion and ruin. For three-quarters of a century only dictatorship had the true esteem of the public and it has completed six years of power, despite the machinations of the Opposition. The dictatorship represents order and authority, supporting civilized decency against those refusing that discipline which is to the interest of the whole. If so-called legality was resumed, unemployment, corruption and persecution would return with it."

The Premier announced on Jan. 2 that King Alfonso had approved a "political plan" for the reorganization of the Patriotic Union and that later another plan would be submitted for a national government. That he had resigned or that a political crisis was impending, he denied. "The people believed in a crisis which never existed," he declared in an interview with newspaper men. "Neither the King nor the government ever created such a crisis. The only thing that occurred was that I submitted to the King a political plan which calls for the reorganization of the Patriotic Union, of which I have previously spoken. The plan will permit elections to be held in February to determine the directories for each province. This will imply a modification in the old existing committees. Later on, perhaps in April, May or June, the Municipal Councils and Provincial Legislatures will be renewed, and a fourth part of the Aldermen and Provincial Deputies will be designated by direct vote in the small towns and in the big cities from among the members of political entities and social and economic organizations. Simultaneously the Assembly will hold its plenary sessions during the months it will still have of legal life. Then, when it is possible to estimate the situation of the country, through the work of the Assembly and through the renewal of the fourth part of the Municipal Councils and the Provincial Legislatures, the government will submit to the King another plan, calling for either the continuation of the Assembly or the creation of an-

other organism suitable to the situation of the country. The plan just approved by the King will be in force until June or July. As to the persons affected, there will be no changes for the present." These announcements are interpreted as showing that the power of the dictator is declining and that the King is again a potent factor in affairs.

There was further cause for unrest in Spain at the beginning of January in the falling off in value of the peseta. It closed on Jan. 11 at 13.15, having a few days before been even a point lower, par being 19.3. As a result of this alarming drop, Primo de Rivera announced at a meeting of the Council of Ministers on Jan. 11 his intention to invite four to six foreign economic experts to Spain to investigate and advise on the situation.

In her relations to foreign affairs Spain held that she should take a place at the naval parley on the ground that she has special interests in any discussion of disarmament affecting the Mediterranean.

Irwin Boyle Laughlin, the new Ambassador from the United States to Spain, presented his credentials to King Alfonso on Dec. 24.

**I**TALY—The outstanding event in Italy during the past month, at least in popular interest, was the marriage of Crown Prince Humbert to Princess Marie José of Belgium, which took place in Rome on Jan. 8. For weeks in advance preparations were made for the event. Triumphal arches were erected, decorations on an enormous scale provided and special celebrations arranged. Enormous throngs filled the city, including hundreds of delegations and thousands of representatives of provincial and municipal governments, and vast numbers of soldiers and Fascist militiamen concentrated by the government to render military honors. Five sovereigns, five deposed rulers, fifty-four other royal persons and 1,000 notables were present at the ceremony. A royal amnesty, announced on Jan. 2, is said to affect about 400,000

persons, and nearly 6,000 prisoners were set free. The marriage ceremony itself took place in the Pauline Chapel of the Quirinal Palace, and was performed by Cardinal Maffi, Archbishop of Pisa. After the ceremony the royal bride and groom called on the Pope and received the first pontifical blessing accorded in connection with royal Italian nuptials since 1870.

Prince Humbert and his sisters were received by the Pope on Dec. 6. This followed the audience previously given by the Pope to the Italian sovereigns and completed the ceremonials marking the end of discord between the house of Savoy and the Holy See.

On Dec. 8 for the first time in the history of United Italy a part of the Palatine Guard, the papal armed corps, was seen in the city of Rome outside the Vatican City. They marched to the Piazza di Spagna, the American and foreign section of the city, where stands a column dedicated to the Immaculate Conception, on which is a statue of the Virgin Mary. The papal guards thus assisted in the celebration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the promulgation of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception.

A few days later, on Dec. 20, Pope Pius for the first time as Pontiff entered Italian territory. His purpose was to celebrate his jubilee mass at the Basilica of St. John Lateran, where he had been ordained to the priesthood fifty years ago. This visit of a Pope, the first since the fall of the papal temporal power in 1870, was made unannounced and in the early morning, and was not known even to the Italian police. Indeed, the Roman populace was unaware that a historic event had taken place till it read about it in special editions of the newspapers many hours afterward. The following day the Pope celebrated his "golden mass" at St. Peter's in the presence of an immense congregation and with elaborate ceremonies.

Another important ceremony took place in St. Peter's on Dec. 15—the beatification of 136 English martyrs who lost their lives in defense of their

faith in the period between the reigns of King Henry VIII and Charles II. They included 65 priests and 35 laymen. A few days later and with similar ceremonies occurred the beatification of the Scottish martyr, Father John Ogilvie, who was put to death in Glasgow in 1615.

Besides these ceremonies there were held the secret consistory for the creation, as already announced, of six new Cardinals and the open consistory at which the red hat was formally conferred upon them. Three of the new Cardinals are Italian, while each of the other three represents a different nationality. As previously noted, this brings the total number to 63, of which 30 are Italians and 33 non-Italians. The latter, however, have a large share of the most important papal offices and activities under their control. According to custom on such occasions, the Pope delivered an allocution in which he reviewed briefly the main events of interest to the Church which had occurred during the year. As a chief cause for rejoicing he recalled the Italo-Vatican pacification after the estrangement of more than half a century.

A few days later, in addressing the Cardinals who had assembled to present to him their Christmas greetings, the Pope declared that the accusation of the Fascist Government that the "Catholic action" organization was mixing in politics was "a thing exactly contrary to truth" and that the Catholic press was "badly and unjustly treated." Further, he deplored recent Fascist publications "which have shown no reverence or regard for us—publications which we might say were issued and intended to confuse intelligence and consciences."

In an encyclical, made public in Rome on Jan. 11 (the entire text of which will appear in March CURRENT HISTORY), the Pope again issued his fiat as regards the education of the young. The most important paragraph of his message is as follows:

"It follows that it is contrary to the fundamental principles of Christian



education to send youths to lay or neutral schools from which Christian education is excluded. Such schools, indeed, are impossible in practice, because they soon degenerate into anti-religious schools. We, therefore, confirm our previous declarations and sacred canons forbidding Catholic children to attend anti-Catholic, neutral or mixed schools, by the latter being meant those schools open equally to Catholics and non-Catholics."

It was officially announced on Dec. 9 that Italian Sahara troops commanded by the Duke of Apulia had hoisted the Italian flag at Brach, in the heart of the Sciati region of Lybia, and that the native population had surrendered their arms.

The Fascisti League of North America, with its centre in New York, was disbanded on Dec. 22. Although it is denied that this action was taken on orders from Rome, it would appear to be not altogether unconnected with criticism recently launched against Fascist activities in the United States.

**P**ORTUGAL—Field Marshal Gomes de Costa died on Dec. 17. He led the Portuguese expeditionary force to the western front in the World War

and earlier had served with distinction in colonial wars in Africa.

Portuguese politics were slightly upset on Jan. 10, with the resignation of the Cabinet offered by General Ivens Ferraz. This resignation was accepted by President Carmona the next day, and it was stated that he expected no trouble in appointing a new Cabinet.

In a recent interview President Carmona declared that he was carrying out his program for the betterment of the country without fear or favor. "There has not been," he declared, "nor will there be, any decree issued which will favor one industry over another, but what we do decree is with the determination of seeing strict enforcement." This statement probably has reference to the type of bread to be furnished by the bakers. They at first paid little attention, but several fines and jail sentences convinced them that it was to be taken seriously. The budget, the President announced further, had been balanced, a result achieved less by increased taxation than by measures of economy.

The appointment of J. G. South as Minister from the United States to Lisbon has been approved by the Portuguese Government.

#### EASTERN EUROPE AND THE BALKANS

### *Poland's Ministerial Crisis*

By **FREDERIC A. OGG**

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**A**FTER MORE THAN a month of inaction following Marshal Daszynski's refusal to open a sitting with a crowd of armed officers in the Parliament building, the Sejm started its annual budget session on Dec. 5. Marshal Pilsudski and the soldiery were conspicuous for their absence, and the presiding officer's opening address recalled the events of Oct. 31 only sufficiently to emphasize that the military should never be allowed to

intervene in the internal affairs of the republic. Finance Minister Matuszewski forthwith presented the budget, explained the state of the national finances and defended the policy and integrity of his predecessor, M. Czechowicz, who was tried by a State tribunal for excess expenditure two years ago.

The routine of business was, however, interrupted on the following day, when a motion expressing lack of confidence in the Switalski Government

was carried by a vote of 246 to 120. This result was not unexpected, for Premier Switalski and his Cabinet, formed last April, had never enjoyed a very firm grip on the situation. On Dec. 7 the Ministry's resignation was accepted, with the customary request that the Premier and his colleagues remain in office until their successors could be decided upon.

The crisis proved more prolonged than any similar one since the Pilsudski dictatorship came into being some three and one-half years ago—partly because the triumphant Opposition had no unity or coherence and no program, but also partly because of the serious illness of Pilsudski himself. Day after day passed, the conferences between President Moscicki and party leaders yielded no results. On Dec. 14 the Opposition group professed to be ready to submit to the President a complete list of a new gov-

ernment which would have the necessary support in Parliament, but another week passed before M. Moscicki felt sure of his course. On Dec. 21 he commissioned M. Bartel, M. Switalski's predecessor, to form a government, and eight days later the new Ministry was announced in full. After all the furor it turned out that all but four members of the new Cabinet had also belonged to the old one.

The new government was sworn in on Jan. 1. It represents a milder form of the same system that has been in effect, with M. Pilsudski continuing as virtual head. In overthrowing the Switalski Ministry the Opposition aimed a deadly blow at the existing régime. But it did not succeed in restoring a true parliamentary form of government, and therefore can claim only a partial victory.

## Other Events in Eastern Europe and the Balkans

**YUGOSLAVIA**—Jan. 6 marked the end of the first year of the dictatorship, and while it did not bring relaxation of the existing régime, as was confidently expected in some quarters, the anniversary prompted a good many efforts to appraise the results thus far achieved. Chief among these, it was felt at Belgrade, is the creation of a new and much-needed sense of national unity. The names of the separate races composing the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes have been tabooed. Display of the flags of the previously separate peoples has been prohibited. Formerly distinct countries, such as Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia and Montenegro, have been flung into the dictatorial melting pot and made to reappear in a mold of nine new banats (administrative districts), with an entirely new set of frontiers.

It would seem that something has really been gained. The celebration of the creation of the Yugoslav nation, which in former years has been boycotted by the Croatian party, was this year hailed with much enthusiasm in

the Croat capital, Zagreb. Even student circles in Belgrade are reported to feel that the dictatorship has accomplished the first part of its work, and that some concession to political liberalism is about due to be made. The arrest of more than 2,000 persons at Zagreb and in other parts of Croatia on charges of conspiracy to disturb the celebration of King Alexander's birthday on Dec. 17 did not, however, contribute to a further easing of the situation.

On Jan. 1 the King sent to the Prime Minister a New Year's message which seemed to dispose of reports that the dictatorship would be liquidated during the coming year.

**CZECHOSLOVAKIA**—After more than a month of bargaining among the fifteen or more political parties represented in the Parliament elected at the end of October a Bourgeois-Socialist Ministry was formed on Dec. 7 by Premier Franz Udrzal. Twelve Czechs were included, two Slovaks and two Germans. Only four members were persons not belonging to the former

Ministry, but the addition of them gave the government somewhat more of a Socialist slant; and the German Social Democrats obtained representation for the first time since the establishment of the republic. The opposition in Parliament consists of the Communists, German Nationalists, German National Socialists, German Christian Socialists, Slovak People's party and the two Hungarian parties. Of the 300 members of Parliament 206 are listed as government supporters.

As a result of the repetition of Communist disorders in Parliament on Dec. 13 four Communist Senators and all the twenty-three Communist members of the lower house were banned from the next few sittings. Refusing to obey the ruling, four Deputies and one Senator were carried out bodily by government police amid a general uproar and a series of stand-up fights which took place in the parliamentary corridors between other Communist Deputies and their government opponents.

A charge that Vladimir Hurdan, now Czechoslovak Minister to Egypt, had failed to account for 1,400,000,000 crowns given him for the equipment of a Czech legion in Russia in 1918, while he was military attaché in Washington under President Masaryk, was made in Parliament on Dec. 18 by George Stribrny, former Minister of War. In reply Foreign Minister Benès, against whom M. Stribrny's attack was partly directed, said M. Hurdan was a man of honor, and had not even drawn a salary while he was in Washington. The financial transactions in the Russian campaign, said M. Benès, are only now being adjudicated.

**HUNGARY**—The ghost of war reparations, believed to have been laid at The Hague conference by the Young plan, has stalked grimly in Eastern Europe in recent weeks, and on Dec. 11 it was announced that the Little Entente States had decided to make a common declaration on the subject at the second Hague conference scheduled to open on Jan. 3. The difficulty arises primarily

from the refusal of Hungary to accept any arrangement under which she will pay reparations after 1943, and from the desire of the Entente States—and the flat refusal of Hungary—to tie up the time-honored optants' issue with the reparations problem. An official statement from Budapest on Dec. 12 indicated that the government would remain adamant on both matters, and that, accordingly, when the conference assembled, it would be confronted with a deadlock which, unless some way out could be discovered, would prevent the Young plan from going into operation. A firm declaration to this effect was given to the press by Foreign Minister Mironescu of Rumania five days later, and three weeks of jockeying failed to change the position of either party to the controversy.

When, therefore, the new conference convened, on Jan. 3, the problem of Eastern European reparations promised to be the most difficult of solution on its agenda. The main question was whether Hungary could be induced, as the Little Entente desired, to set off against Hungarian reparations obligations the claims of its dispossessed optants against the Little Entente countries. The Hungarian delegates stoutly insisted that they would never yield in the matter, and the Little Entente powers feared that the great powers, taking the Hungarians at their word, would proceed to sign the Young plan without them.

**BULGARIA**—During the period under review the reparations question continued to absorb attention to the exclusion of most other political matters. Dissatisfaction with the action of the Paris conference in fixing Bulgarian reparations payments at an annual average of 2,500,000 gold francs (\$482,500) manifested itself in numerous riotous demonstrations, and the government showed reluctance, if not total unwillingness, to accept the arrangement. The Ministers of Great Britain, France and Italy took the

somewhat unusual course of going over the heads of the Cabinet members to King Boris himself, but with no result other than a decision to dispatch Foreign Minister Burov and Finance Minister Molov to London, Paris and Rome for a series of conferences. On Dec. 6 Mr. Burov was reported to have told the Bulgarian parliamentary committee on foreign affairs that the proposal would be rejected.

Later in the month the two emissaries discussed the situation with the British and other foreign governments, urging that the proposed payment is far beyond the financial capacity of an agricultural country poorer and smaller than many of its neighbors; and on Jan. 4 it was reported that a compromise figure was being considered.

**G**REECE—Admiral Paul Kondouriotis, President of the republic since December, 1926, resigned on Dec. 10 on account of advanced age and failing

health. In the course of a long career of public service the Admiral commanded the victorious Greek fleet in the Balkan War of 1912-13, served as Regent after the death of King Alexander in 1920, and again after the departure of King George II in 1923, and acted as Provisional President immediately on the proclamation of the republic in 1924.

M. Zaimis, former Premier and recently president of the Senate, was chosen to assume the Presidential office temporarily, pending the election of a successor; and on Dec. 14 he was elected regularly to the office by a vote of 257 to 22, despite the fact that a considerable section of the Republican majority favored his younger opponent, George Kafandaris.

On Dec. 15 Premier Venizelos promised the Royalists to hold a plebiscite on the question of whether Greece shall remain a republic or return to monarchy.

#### NATIONS OF NORTHERN EUROPE

## *Swedish Government's Difficulties*

By JOHN H. WUORINEN

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**T**HE SWEDISH RIKSDAG adjourned for its traditional holiday recess with political skies darkened by two problems which have occupied it for the past months.

The first of these was the question of increasing agricultural tariffs, which are insistently demanded by the Conservative groups. Both of the main arguments of the advocates of higher protection are familiar to the American reader. The first was to the effect that the present protection accorded to industry places an unreasonable burden on agriculture, and that the situation should be remedied by higher dues on agricultural imports. The second was that protectionism has gained ground all over the world, and that a failure to

follow suit would spell the ruin of Sweden's farmers. These contentions were dismissed as worthless by the Left, which held that protection provides no permanent relief. Toward this controversial problem the Lindman Ministry succeeded in maintaining a non-committal attitude, and Parliament appeared to be opposed to tariff increases.

The second problem concerned religious instruction in the schools. The reform in instruction in the schools, made in 1927, considerably decreased the emphasis placed on religious instruction. The reform caused considerable dissatisfaction among the conservative orthodox elements which culminated in a mass petition, signed by some 370,000 persons, requesting the reintroduc-



tion of the system in force before 1927. The School Directory was opposed to the proposal, although its minority suggested half-way concessions to the petitioners. In the early part of December, 1929, the present Minister for Ecclesiastical Affairs, M. Lindskog, prevailed upon the government to ignore the School Directory and to accept a change which went considerably beyond the suggestions of the compromise put

forth by the minority of the school board. In effect the teachers were to be given considerable latitude in demanding strict mastery of the catechism, and so forth.

This action incensed a substantial part of Parliament and alarmed the dissenters, who fear that it will cause a reaction that will sweep all religious instruction out of the schools. It placed the Ministry in a vulnerable position.

## Other Events in Northern Europe

**SWEDEN**—The question of the military preparedness of the Northern countries—Norway, Sweden, Finland and Denmark—was discussed at an unofficial conference in Stockholm on Dec. 7. The Danish delegate, M. Moller, Conservative, held that the Danish disarmament proposal meant a failure to meet Denmark's international obligations. The Finnish representative, M. Ingman, maintained that the security of the four countries depends upon the realization that their vulnerable point is the Rajajoki River.

It was reported on Dec. 21 that Sweden had abolished visas for American citizens traveling in Sweden after Jan. 1, 1930.

The Swedish Public Debt Commission completed, on Dec. 18, the redemption of the 1919 6 per cent \$25,000,000 loan at the current rate of exchange.

All the winners of Nobel prizes conferred for 1929, with the exception of Professor Christian Eijkman of the University of Utrecht, Holland, were present in Stockholm on Dec. 10, the anniversary of Nobel's death, to receive their diplomas and prize checks.

**FINLAND**—The Finnish Parliament adjourned on Dec. 21, 1929. Among its manifold labors, concluded before the recess, was the acceptance of the budget for 1930. It provided for total expenditures amounting to 4,595,481,650 marks, while the income was fixed at 4,469,322,550 marks. The deficit of 106,168,100 marks will be covered by the surplus in the treasury. On the

same day Parliament accepted, after a prolonged debate, the commercial treaty with Germany which was signed in Berlin on Oct. 25. Its provisions raised the duties on most Finnish agricultural exports to Germany, while it provided for minor reductions in duties on paper and various wood products, and thus gave a decided jolt to Finland's agricultural interests without granting corresponding relief to her timber and paper industries.

The general strike called on Nov. 16 by Communist trades unions in sympathy with the hunger-striking prisoners at Tammisaari was a complete failure. The workers did not obey the proclamation, and factories and shops worked normal hours. The aftermath of the incident came a month later. A strong anti-Communist wave swept the country during December, and a score of delegations from various parts of the country were sent to the capital to request appropriate action. On Dec. 3 the Communist group in the national Legislature precipitated an interpellation, the debate on which clearly showed that all the non-Communists were opposed to the organization and its tactics. The government appealed to Parliament on Dec. 6 to suppress Communist propaganda by restricting the press and limiting right of assembly.

**NORWAY**—The Premier, M. Mo-winckel, discussed Norway's problems in Lillestrom on Nov. 24. He pointed out among other things that the question of unemployment constituted

a serious problem, and that the government had expended some 167,000,000 kroner on public works of various kinds in order to relieve the situation. During the past eight years State and municipal expenditures for this purpose amounted approximately to 208,000,000 kroner.

**DENMARK**—Speaking at Nyborg on Nov. 25, the Premier, M. Stauning, discussed the disarmament question and the attitude of the Opposition to it. He stated that the government was anxious to proceed by means of negotiations with the upper house, but insisted that it would tolerate no sabotage on the part of the Landsting.

**ESTONIA**—An Economic Conference of the Baltic States was held in Tallinn, the Estonian capital, on Dec. 7-8. The magnitude of the conference was suggested by the number of representatives: Estonia, 60; Latvia, 39, and Lithuania, 9. Its general purpose was to provide for closer economic co-operation and ultimately a customs union among them. The specific problems discussed included the abolition of protective duties, the establishment of a common statistical system, the re-drafting of the maritime laws of the participants, the stimulation of commercial intercourse between them and legislation on social questions along common lines.

**LATVIA**—The prolonged controversy over the question of land grants to former members of the German Landeswehr came to a head on Nov. 22, 1929, when the Latvian Parliament decided, by a vote of 51 to 39, against the proposal. The German group thereupon withdrew from the government coalition and, in doing so, carried with it M. Berendt, the Minister of Justice. At the session on Dec. 6 the Socialists presented an interpellation, directed

specifically against M. Osols, the Minister of War, similar action against the whole Zelmins Government having failed to obtain the necessary support. The tension was relieved on the 18th, when the two portfolios of war and justice were handed to men less objectionable to the Opposition. The former went to General Wascetis, while the post left vacant by the resignation of M. Berendt was filled by M. Pabers.

**LITHUANIA**—That internal peace and concord was lacking within the Tubelis Ministry was definitely disclosed on Nov. 23, when M. Musteikis, Minister of the Interior, was compelled to resign. Senator Kavetskis, high in the councils of the Smetona-Tubelis group, succeeded him.

About a week later a bomb attack was made against the headquarters of the Iron Wolf, a Fascist organization on the Austrian Heimwehr model. The investigation which followed disclosed that the headquarters attacked had been secured by M. Stempelis, secretary of the Minister of the Interior, for the purpose of providing quarters for that part of the Iron Wolf which was loyal to the present government. It was also shown that Professor Walde-maras's supporters were back of the outrage and that the former dictator was probably indirectly implicated.

It was reported on Dec. 10 that, with the term of President Smetona drawing to a close, attempts were made by various political groups to obtain a mass petition in support of granting the office of the President to its present incumbent for life. Intimidation, it was stated, was used in order to obtain the end desired. However, some indication of a more liberal trend was given by the action of the Kaunas District Court on Dec. 4, when it reversed the decision of the district commander dissolving the Social-Democratic party.

## *Soviet Internal Problems as Affected by Foreign Relations*

By EDGAR S. FURNISS

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THERE IS A TENDENCY to disregard the importance of Russia's foreign relations at this time when her internal program is attracting so much attention. The Communists' attitude toward an unredeemed world, and details of their national program combine to give the impression that Russia is working out her destiny in isolation from other nations. The industrialization program, the socialization of agriculture, the reorganization of the marketing system to the extinction of the private business man, the sweeping changes in the social life of the countryside, the education of an illiterate population and the inculcation of new beliefs and a new behavior, all appear to be essentially domestic problems. They are concerned with the resources, physical and moral, of Russia herself. They call for intensity of purpose and unyielding determination on the part of the governors; discipline and cohesion in the ranks of the party; labor and sacrifice from the people at large. But given these factors it is not obvious at first sight that the success of these great undertakings is conditioned upon cooperation from foreign countries.

The more closely one examines the domestic program of the Soviet Union, however, the more apparent it becomes that no country in the modern world is placing greater reliance upon cooperation from abroad. The heart of this program is the five-year scheme for industry and agriculture. This involves a vast quantity of instruments of all sorts, from the finished machines used on the farm and in the factory to the equipment of the basic power, metal-

lurgical, and machine-making industries. Russia must obtain these essential instruments of industry in the first instance from other countries. The program also involves the knowledge of business organization and management required to assemble and set in operation the new industrial equipment. The Russian people have scant experience in these things; they must import foreign business men for the purpose. The program demands a great variety of technical skill on the part of workmen both in agriculture and in the many branches of industry. The typically Russian methods in agriculture are obsolete and must be discarded; the new industries are importations from abroad, and Russian labor has not been trained in their processes. Technicians of all sorts must be brought to Russia from foreign countries, first to fill the key positions in the economic system; secondly, to train a native population to carry on the work. Thus, aside from the conception of the program and the political power behind it, which are Russian, the entire substance of the program—its material instruments, its expert personnel, its technique and methodology—are all contributions from other countries. A world-wide boycott against the Russia of the Czars would have had little effect upon the social structure of the country; today it would prove ruinous to the purposes which dominate the Communist leaders.

Soviet Russia employs various means to obtain assistance for her five-year program from not too friendly capitalistic neighbors. In the first place there are the ordinary mercantile relationships arising from her foreign trade.

Other countries which have passed through rapid industrial expansion during the past century have been equally dependent for capital equipment upon foreign peoples; but these countries have been able to borrow what they have needed. Russia has no borrowing power in the ordinary sense of the term. She does succeed in obtaining certain credits from business firms, especially in this country and in Germany, in connection with specific sales contracts; but these credits usually mature within the current year. Her purchasing power abroad each year arises, on the whole, from her exports. However, she is able to make her trade relations subserve national policy to a degree impossible in other countries. Her entire trade is a government monopoly, mobilized and applied through official agencies to further the ends of the political leaders. At home, the Foreign Trade Department of the Supreme Economic Council coordinates Russia's commercial relations with the entire world. In foreign countries, general Soviet agencies, such as the Amtorg Trading Corporation of New York, or specialized agencies, such as the All-Russian Textile Syndicate, Centrosoyus (the Consumers' Cooperative), and Selkosojus (the Agricultural Cooperative) buy and sell under orders from Moscow.

The current status of this important factor in Russia's foreign relations is disclosed by a summary of the foreign trade of the Soviet Union issued by the Supreme Economic Council in December, 1929. For the fiscal year 1928-29 total trade over European frontiers amounted to \$710,000,000. This was a slight decrease from the figures of the preceding year, but the decrease is accounted for by a decline of imports by 15 per cent, while exports increased by 13.6 per cent. The decline of imports is significant; still more striking, however, is the change in the type of goods imported, consumption articles urgently needed by the impoverished people giving way to industrial equipment required by the five-year program. Last year these importations of

capital instruments comprised 92 per cent of the entire import trade. On the export side, the increase took the form of industrial products replacing the grain export, which has virtually ceased. The trade statement showed a favorable balance of some \$13,000,000, as against an unfavorable balance of \$92,000,000 last year, a great improvement in view of Russia's lack of borrowing power.

Of all the great nations able to provide the things demanded by the five-year program, the United States is the only one which refuses to recognize the Soviet Union. Yet we are doing more than any other nation, with the exception of Germany, to equip Russian industry and mechanize Russian agriculture. Indeed, in some lines, as in the electrical, automotive and agricultural machinery industries, the United States is the chief source of Russian equipment. Occasionally this transplanting of American capital takes the dramatic form of dismantling an entire American factory, shipping it to Russia and reassembling it there as a unit in the great industrial scheme. We sell to Russia almost four times as much as we buy from her. She finances her trade with us by maintaining a favorable balance with almost every other country having trade relations with her.

Russia's concession policy affords a second point of contact with foreign business interests. The Soviet Union invites foreign capitalists to come to Russia to organize new industries for private profit under contract with the State. The concession usually takes the form of a lease of Russian resources for a limited period. The Soviet Government shares in the profits, and sometimes enters into direct partnership with the foreign capitalist in the management of the enterprise. This phase of Soviet policy has not been greatly successful as measured by total results. The Soviet Government has accepted less than 8 per cent of the applications received since the policy was instituted; and, at the present moment, but a trifling fraction of Russian indus-



try is organized thus under the direct control of foreign business men. But the number of applications for concessions is increasing, rising last year to over 200. The United States leads the rest of the world in these activities, providing last year 26 per cent of the total applications for concessions, as against 20 per cent from Germany, which ranks second.

A third and a more important source of aid from abroad arises from the so-called technical assistance contract. As stated earlier in this article, Russia is dependent on foreign countries not only for the concrete instruments of industry, but for the technical methods and the expert personnel to organize and direct her economic expansion. The technical assistance contract is a means of importing into Russia business managers and technicians, and assigning them to specific tasks of organizing and directing Soviet industry. Germany leads in this form of collaboration in Russia's domestic program, with the United States a close second. The December number of the *Economic Review*, published by the Amtorg Trading Corporation, refers to several score American engineers and foremen recently engaged by the Soviet Union, and over 200 technical experts engaged during the preceding year. Our contributions along this line are chiefly to the mining, hydraulic, automotive and farm implements industries. An obverse of this system is the assignment of Soviet citizens to American industries for training in technical methods. There are already some scores of Russians in various plants in this country, and the number is increasing steadily. A recent development has been the award of fellowships to Soviet students for study in American colleges and universities. The first delegation of five students from Moscow and Leningrad is now at work in as many Eastern and Middle Western colleges.

Superior to these vital international relationships in news value, but less important in reality, is Russia's position in diplomatic circles. As in her eco-

nomic relationships, Russia has, on the whole, improved her diplomatic situation during the past few weeks. The case of our own country is perhaps an exception. For a year past the Soviet Union has adopted a conciliatory attitude toward the United States, apparently content to postpone the issue of recognition and to concentrate upon the multiplication of economic contacts. Opinion favorable to recognition was spreading in powerful circles in this country, and hundreds of business men were developing tolerance for Communist ways through practical experience. But this quiet development was rudely upset by Secretary Stimson's communiqué of Dec. 2, reminding Russia of her obligations under the Pact of Paris with specific reference to the dispute in Manchuria. At the request of our State Department, other powers joined with our country in this public admonition to the Soviet Union. Russia responded promptly with a peremptory challenge of our good faith in the matter, and a vigorous repudiation of our right to intrude. Since negotiations between Moscow and Mukden were at that time far advanced toward a complete settlement of the dispute, the Soviet Government interpreted our interference as an unfriendly desire to embarrass her, and said so in strong terms. It is probable that the motive behind Stimson's action was not to accomplish good in the existing situation, but to experiment with the machinery of the Kellogg treaties; and probable, too, that as in most cases of ulterior motives, the immediate effect was unfortunate. At any rate the incident did nothing to improve our political relations with Russia. On the other hand, Russia's immediate and generous response later in the month to our appeal for assistance in the search for Eielson and Borland, American aviators lost in the Arctic, eased the tension. In this case Secretary Wilbur of our Department of the Interior broke all precedents by communicating directly with the Soviet officials.

## *Turkish Financial Crisis*

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**G**REAT CONCERN has been felt during December over the serious financial crisis, the obvious external evidence of which was the fall in value of the Turkish pound in international exchange. The pre-war gold lira, or pound, was worth \$4.40. Metal money disappeared during the war, and the paper which succeeded it declined in value until, after the war, the paper lira was worth about 50 cents. Fluctuations have been comparatively slight during the past ten years until the last few weeks. The Turks saw, rather than the fall in value of their own money, the rise of the pound sterling, which advanced about Dec. 1 to the value of 1,100 piasters (the lira contains 100 piasters and at that time was worth 44 cents). The government took a hand early in the month. All government purchasing requiring payment in foreign currency was stopped. The banks and individuals were forbidden to buy foreign currency without government permission. Prime Minister Ismet Pasha announced that the government would take in hand the country's foreign trade and establish a balanced budget of imports and exports. In spite of all efforts, numerous business failures continued.

Government officials urged the purchase of none but home products. Christmas Day was set aside, not for the giving of presents, but for instruction in methods of economy. President Kemal Pasha ceased to serve Turkish coffee to visitors and provided them with a drink made from linden leaves. He uses none but domestic candies and dried fruits, wears clothes made from none but Turkish fabrics and is equipping his residence with Turkish furniture. Prime Minister Ismet Pasha estimated that 5,000,000 Turkish pounds

were being spent annually for tea and coffee, which might be done away with. "We will consent no longer," he said, "to having our daughters perfumed with expensive extracts and dressed in foreign silks. We want them, at the urging of their mothers, who, heads ornamented with the flowers of Anatolia, thanks to the vigor of their healthy bodies, transported munitions in our time of need, to consecrate themselves to the pursuit of a vigorous physique. We want them clad in the silks of the country, exhaling the perfume of the flowers of our mountains, reflecting the spirit of economy and sobriety. If we can teach the women of this country economy it will be impossible for the men to resist this heroic influence."

A provisional treaty of commerce between Turkey and the Soviet Union was signed early in December. The Turkish agricultural bank and the industrial and mineral bank are to supervise the trade between Turkey and the Soviet Union.

Negotiations have been resumed with Greece through the new Greek Minister, M. Polychroniades. Questions in dispute include Turkey's demand that Greece pay for damages done to Turkish property by Greeks in recent wars, the status of Greeks in Constantinople and Turks in Western Thrace, the property of Greeks who left Turkey before the republic and have not been permitted to return, and the evaluation of properties belonging to Turks in Greece and Greeks in Turkey.

**E**GYPT—The election on Dec. 21 showed an overwhelming victory for the Wafd or Nationalist party. Out of 232 Deputies, 206 are Nationalists, and of the remainder, the 19 Indepen-

dents are expected regularly to vote with the Wafd. The Liberal Constitutionalists abstained from voting, but their absence probably made little difference in the results. Prime Minister Adly Pasha resigned on Dec. 31, and King Fuad summoned Mustapha Pasha Nahas to form a Nationalist Cabinet.

A draft of the new customs law was announced on Dec. 17 and was found to be surprisingly moderate. Raw materials are taxed as low as 4 per cent, and articles of luxury are taxed from 20 per cent to 25 per cent. Sugar will pay 15 per cent, the object here, as at many points, being to protect home products. The law is expected to be discussed by Parliament and brought into effect within sixty days of its announcement.

**AFGHANISTAN**—Having formed a Ministry under Sirdar Mohammed Hashim Khan, the government of Nadir Shah has taken up as its first tasks the assembling of a regular army, collection of revenue and the recovery of government arms from tribesmen. The main road through the Khyber Pass was opened safely about the middle of October. Distant parts of the country are in some cases still disobedient. An expedition was sent to the Koidaman district in the Northwest to suppress insurgents.

**ARABIA**—In the British House of Lords on Dec. 23 Lord Lamington urged the government to invite the Imam Yahya to send an Ambassador with full powers to London in the hope of settling difficulties with the Yemen. The Colonial Secretary said that the government had not had a reply to a communication sent to the Imam last July, in which it expressed willingness to enter into negotiations.

King Ibn Saud is reported to have taken command in person of an expedition intended to settle matters with Faisal ad-Dowish. Apprehensions arose lest the rebel chieftain might take refuge in the territory of Koweit, which is under British protection, thus causing

international complications. The trade of Koweit has declined noticeably through diversion of Wahabi trade to ports of the Hasa, and might be restored if Ibn Saud were permitted to occupy the country.

**PALESTINE**—The Palestine Inquiry Commission continued its sessions until Dec. 24, after which it returned to England, intending to interview some witnesses there and to prepare a report as soon as possible.

On Dec. 2 the commission went to the offices of the Grand Mufti, Haj Amin Hussein, to obtain his testimony, since he stood upon an old Turkish custom which permitted religious heads to testify at their own residences. He testified that Jewish New Year cards and communistic appeals to Moslem labor had helped stir up trouble last August. His recommendation for preventing future troubles included: "Fulfillment of the pledges given to the Arabs in 1915; establishment of a constitutional parliamentary government in which all communities would be represented in proportion to population, and enactment of legislation on a basis of proportional representation." He contended that the Jews have no right to do more than visit the Wailing Wall.

A few days later Sir John Chancellor, High Commissioner, warned the editors of all newspapers published in Jerusalem that censorship would be established if they continued to publish articles of a character to arouse animosity between Jews and Arabs. On Dec. 10 the commission began to examine Jews in regard to the beginning of the riot. Jewish witnesses denied absolutely that there was any Jewish conspiracy at the time of the disturbance. Chief Rabbi Kook declined to stand upon Turkish custom and came before the commission. He asserted that the Jews await the coming of the Messiah, who will rebuild the temple on the day of redemption, and that they are forbidden to take any physical action to rebuild the temple or even to enter the sacred area before that time. Some

Arab witnesses appeared and testified on behalf of the Jews. Evidence was introduced to show that Arab land holders had oppressed other Arabs and that Arab peasants, subject to collected fines, now regret their part in the August riot. In the final summing up, on Dec. 24, Sir Boyd Merriman, counsel for the Jews, was so greatly offended at comments of a member of the commission that he failed to complete his address.

David Lloyd George, the Earl of Balfour and General Jan Christiaan Smuts published a joint letter on Dec. 20, in which they urged upon the British Government the appointment of an authoritative commission to investigate the whole working of the mandate. They consider that "our pledge is unequivocal, but in order to fulfill it in letter and spirit a considerable readjustment of the administrative machine may be desirable."

#### THE FAR EAST

## *China Decrees End of Extraterritoriality*

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**F**ORESHADOWED over a period of several weeks by public statements from Nanking officials, the mandate of the Nationalist Government designed to terminate foreign consular jurisdiction in China was issued on Dec. 28. After declaring that "for more than eighty years China has been bound by a system of extraterritoriality, which has prevented the Chinese Government from exercising its judicial power over foreigners within its territory," the mandate reads:

For the purpose of restoring her inherent jurisdictional sovereignty, it is hereby decided and declared that on and after the first day of the first month of the nineteenth year of the Republic (Jan. 1, 1930) all foreign nationals in the territory of China who are now enjoying extraterritorial privileges shall abide by the laws, ordinances, and regulations duly promulgated by the central and local governments of China.

The executive Yuan and the judicial Yuan are hereby ordered to instruct the Ministries concerned to prepare as soon as possible a plan for the execution of this mandate and submit it to the legis-

lative Yuan for examination and deliberation with a view to its promulgation and enforcement.

Several preparatory steps led to the issuance of the decree. For a number of months past the Legislative Yuan of the Nanking Government has been busy drafting the remaining "books" of the new civil code, the first part of which was promulgated last May. The functions of Provincial Commissioners of Foreign Affairs in regard to foreign interests have been centralized in the government at Nanking, and the office abolished as from Jan. 1. Likewise, negotiations looking to the establishment of Chinese control over the Shanghai Provisional Court, formerly the Mixed Court, were begun at Nanking on Dec. 9. The agreement under which this court has been under the partial control of the foreign authorities of the International Settlement was due to expire on Jan. 1, 1930.

The text of the mandate on extraterritoriality was communicated through Chinese Ministers abroad to the foreign powers concerned. The reaction of



the British Government was made known by the publication in London of an exchange of notes between the Foreign Office and the Chinese Minister. The British note expressed willingness "to agree that Jan. 1 should be treated as the date from which the process of the gradual abolition of extraterritoriality should be regarded as having commenced in principle," and to negotiate for the abolition of consular jurisdiction by gradual stages. The Chinese reply characterized the note as "most timely and conducive to the promotion of friendly feeling" between the two nations. Sir Miles Lampson, British Minister to China, left Peiping on Jan. 2 for Nanking for the purpose of taking up the matter with the Nationalist Government.

In Washington Secretary Stimson intimated that there was no real conflict between the new Chinese policy and the present American policy toward China. In the view of State Department officials, the mandate does not contemplate the summary termination by unilateral action of American extraterritorial rights, which are provided for by unexpired Sino-American treaties, but merely marks the beginning of the general abolition of such rights. The American policy is still that set forth in the American note to China of Aug. 10 last, of being willing to negotiate for the gradual relinquishment of consular jurisdiction. The conversations which have been proceeding for some time between Dr. C. C. Wu, Chinese Minister to the United States, and State Department officials have not yet reached the stage of formal negotiations.

That the mandate contemplated no abrupt change in the status of extraterritorial nationals in China is evident from a statement made on Dec. 30 by Dr. C. T. Wang, Nationalist Minister for Foreign Affairs. The Chinese Government, he said, "believes there is no difference of opinion between the Powers and China regarding the principles involved, and is prepared to consider and discuss within a reasonable time any representations that may be

made with reference to the plan under preparation in Nanking."

The series of revolts, which at the beginning of December threatened the overthrow of the Nanking Government, have apparently been suppressed. The revolt, affecting widely scattered sections of the country, reached its height during the second week in December, when there was serious danger that the Nationalist capital itself would be isolated. On Dec. 7 a minor insurrection in Changchow, Kiangsu Province, cut the railway from Nanking to Shanghai. The next day the American consul in Nanking advised the evacuation of all foreign women and children. Foreign refugees arriving at Shanghai declared that the dispatch of all government troops northward to suppress the Pukow rebellion left the capital at the mercy of Communist agitators. The arrival of loyal government troops from Hankow served to stabilize the situation, and the success of the army operating against the Pukow rebels, located astride the Tientsin-Pukow railway north of Nanking, removed the menace from that quarter. The leader of the latter rebellion, General Shih Yu-shan, chairman of the Anhwei Provincial Government, was reported on Dec. 13 to be anxious for peace overtures. On Dec. 18 the Nationalist Government announced that the Pukow insurrection had been crushed and that its leader had fled into Northern Anhwei.

During the crisis in Nanking Shanghai was under martial law. On Dec. 9 the railway to the capital was again cut by "Communist" bands, this time only thirty-five miles from the city. A mob of frightened residents of the Chinese city, alarmed by rumors that capture of the city by the rebels was imminent, had to be forcibly restrained from swarming into the French concession.

Coincident with the clearing of the situation at Nanking, the danger threatening Canton from Kwangsi troops operating from the west and Chang Fa-kwei's "Ironsides" moving down from the north, was averted by a

pronounced government victory on Dec. 11 after three days of hard fighting. The badly demoralized "Ironsides" were reported to be fleeing northward.

At Ichang, strategically located at the lower end of the Yangtse gorges, it was necessary to evacuate all foreign women and children to foreign gunboats lying in the river. By Dec. 10 it was reported that the situation had so far improved that the refugees could return to their homes. In Northern Honan, the last area of disturbance, General Tang Seng-chi, who was at one time reported to be planning the capture of Hankow, was apparently immobilized by a number of minor armies standing between him and his goal.

General Chiang Kai-shek, announcing the end of the revolt on Dec. 18, declared that "our fate hung by a single hair," and gave credit for the victory to the officers and men of the Nationalist armies. Inability of the widely separated rebel Generals to co-operate effectively is cited as the major explanation of the government's victory.

While the causes of the rebellion are obscure, as always, they are seemingly related to the widespread discontent with the Nanking régime of Chiang Kai-shek. General Tang Seng-chi, opposing the government in Northern Honan, is reputed to desire the return to power of Wang Ching-wei, the civilian leader of left wing elements within the Kuomintang. Wang, whose name has also been linked with that of Yen Hsi-shan, was compelled to go abroad two years ago, following the abortive Communist coup at Canton. He is said to have been in Hongkong during the Canton fighting, and to have gone thereafter to Shanghai. Recognition of personal opposition as one of the causes of the rebellion doubtless prompted Chiang Kai-shek to announce on Dec. 8 that "as soon as peace and unity are attained I will see that party affairs and national politics are fundamentally readjusted." This statement was supplemented by another on Dec. 28 announcing that the President had completed "a comprehensive program

providing for sweeping political reforms in the administration of the Nationalist Government."

Negotiations for the settlement of Sino-Soviet differences, which were begun at Khabarovsk, Eastern Siberia, on Dec. 13, resulted in the signature on Dec. 22 of a protocol formulated by Tsai Yung-sheng, the Chinese delegate, and Simanovsky, representing the Soviet Union. The agreement provided in substance for the restoration of the *status quo ante* with regard to the administration of the Chinese Eastern Railway, based on the Peking and Mukden agreements of 1924. Each side agreed to the immediate withdrawal of troops from the territories of the other. Chinese citizens detained by the Soviet Union, and Soviet citizens detained in Manchuria were to be released, including Soviet citizens taken in the Chinese raid on the Harbin Consulate on May 27, 1929. The Chinese agreed to dissolve the White Guard Corps and to expel its leaders and organizers from Manchuria. Consular offices were to be re-established by China in Siberia, and by the Soviet Union in Manchuria, and the Mukden Government undertook to guarantee in future the privileges of Soviet consular officers within its territory. Finally it was agreed that a conference for the final settlement of outstanding issues between the two governments should meet in Moscow on Jan. 25.

Sporadic clashes along the western frontier of Manchuria were reported during the continuance of the negotiations. Anxiety over the fate of foreign nationals in the zone of hostilities prompted the sending of an international train to the region on Dec. 13. The train, carrying consular representatives of the United States, Great Britain, France, Japan and Germany, was unable to proceed beyond Mintuho, seventy-five miles southeast of Hailar, because of the inability of the Chinese and the unwillingness of the Russian authorities to provide safe conduct for it.

The Sino-Soviet controversy seemed

virtually closed at the end of December, with the release by China of Soviet civilian and military prisoners, and the withdrawal on Dec. 23 of Soviet troops from Manchuria. An incidental feature of the recent hostilities has been the reported determination of the Young Mongol party in the region of Barga to establish an independent republic under Soviet auspices. The Barga area, which has been occupied by Soviet troops until recently, includes the portion of the province of Meilungkiang west of the Khingan Mountains, and lies astride the western section of the Chinese Eastern Railway.

One effect of China's recent recovery of tariff autonomy is seen in the customs returns published early in January. Despite civil wars and the blockades of Hankow and Canton at times during the year, the total collections for 1929 totaled 152,000,000 taels (\$78,584,000 gold), an increase over 1928 of 82,000,000 taels.

The commission of financial advisers headed by Dr. Edwin Kemmerer, which has been working with the Nanking Government during the past year, has made its final report and is disbanding. Six of the commissioners have been engaged to remain in China as expert advisers to the Nationalist Government.

#### EVENTS IN JAPAN

THE unsatisfactory position of the Minseito Government was shown by the election on Dec. 23 of the Opposition candidate as Speaker of the Japanese Diet. The party grouping in the Diet, as given by the *Japan Weekly Chronicle* for Nov 21 showed the Minseito with 172 seats, the Seiyukai (Opposition) with 240, and five more groups with a total of thirty-seven seats. Premier Hamaguchi is said to contemplate a dissolution of the popular chamber and new elections in the near future, as a means of strengthening his position.

The government would enjoy a decided advantage in a national campaign waged at present, for it would have control of the local administrative machinery during the elections, and its

three-fold program of economy, hard work and economic reconstruction has won popular approval to a considerable extent. For the first time in many years, the tentative budget estimates show a balance between income and expenditure without resort to public loans. It is believed that the advice of Thomas W. Lamont given during his visit to Japan had some influence on this result. Despite the determination of the government to remove the embargo on the export of gold, announced in this magazine last month, the value of the yen in international exchange has continued to rise almost to par.

Publication of the details of public corruption involving several members of the former Seiyukai Ministry and at least one member of the present Ministry, have prompted a proposal by Yukio Ozakai, the veteran Liberal, that the Emperor be petitioned to create a super-party government for the purpose of holding a clean election. A recent development in the judicial investigation of the political scandals has been the indictment, with the consent of the Emperor, of General Hanzo Yamanashi, recently Governor General of Korea, who is charged with having received a bribe.

Troubles among Korean students, which early in December led to wholesale arrests of students at Seoul, have apparently spread to Japan. On Dec. 28 the Tokio police were compelled to disperse a crowd of Korean students and laborers who were organizing a demonstration to protest the arrest of 180 of their countrymen on Christmas Eve for alleged membership in a communistic secret society.

Assistant Secretary of State William R. Castle Jr., was named on Dec. 10 as United States Ambassador to Japan during the continuance of the London disarmament conference. The appointment was appreciated in Tokio as an indication that President Hoover is anxious to take heed of Japanese aspirations during the conference and to be represented in Japan by a personal representative fully acquainted with his views.

# World Finance—A Month's Survey

By BERNHARD OSTROLENK

EDITORIAL BOARD, *The Annalist*; FORMERLY LECTURER ON FINANCE,  
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

GOLD exports from the United States in December increased in volume for the second successive month and were greater than imports by \$73,712,000, total exports for the month amounting to \$77,242,000, against imports of \$3,530,000. Moreover, \$22,000,000 additional were earmarked for foreign account, making a combined loss of \$95,000,000. Gold exports, which were exceptionally heavy during November and the early part of December, were somewhat less in the last week in December. France received \$47,905,000, the bulk of the metal exported. Other shipments included \$21,084,000 to Great Britain, \$5,005,000 to Switzerland, \$1,504,000 to Germany and \$1,341,000 to Sweden. Imports were chiefly from Argentina, amounting to \$2,067,000 and \$950,000 from Colombia. Although exports were large in the last two months of the year, the excess for the year has been in imports. Exports for 1929 totaled \$111,987,000 and imports \$243,162,000, compared with \$546,396,497 and \$157,584,000 respectively in 1928, and exports of \$187,703,000 and imports of \$147,570,000 in 1927.

The flow of gold from the United States is creating the usual speculation as to the final effect on prices here and abroad. The more positive predictions come from those who empirically hold to the gold theory as a price basis. Thus two kinds of fear are expressed. First, by those in the United States who believe that the flow of gold will endanger the credit basis, will decrease money in circulation and hence will progressively decrease the price level of commodities. From that point of view the continued export of gold presages lower prices for all commodi-

ties. A second fear comes from Europe and is based on the same theory, maintaining that the continued influx of gold will make for price inflation. Thus a dispatch on Jan. 3 to *The New York Times* reports Paris financial circles as adopting the view that the influx of gold "has the disadvantage of promoting inflated circulation and superabundance of capital within the markets." We shall probably hear more of this theory when the advantages of the International Bank as a gold stabilizer are brought to public attention.

The annual report of the Controller of the Currency, made public on Dec. 21, is noteworthy because in it Controller Pole boldly advocates an amendment to the McFadden act permitting branch banking "within the trade areas of the cities in which such banks may be situated."

Mr. Pole's advocacy of a liberalized Federal banking act which permits branch banking is based on the changing economic trends that have characterized American business: "Banking is following in the wake of the trend of business in general toward larger operating units with stronger capital funds and more experienced and highly trained management." Mr. Pole finds that, as in business so in banks, there are centripetal tendencies. Although there are 25,000 banks with \$72,000,000,000 assets, 250 banks hold resources of \$33,400,000,000—that is, one-tenth of the banks hold almost half the resources. In contrast with the prosperity and unifying tendencies of the metropolitan banks, Mr. Pole points to the failure of 5,000 banks, "nearly all in agricultural communities," which "tied up deposits of \$1,500,000,000," and says that "in seven States over 40



per cent of all the banks in existence in 1920 have failed and in six States between 25 and 40 per cent." Nor does the future look any brighter, for "it is cause for immediate concern that the operating conditions faced by the country show no prospect of improvement under the present system." His study "clearly indicates that the system of banking in the rural communities has broken down through causes beyond the control of the local banker and the rural community."

Should Mr. Pole's recommendation be adopted by Congress, it would make the most important change in the American banking system that has taken place since the first Bank of the United States was chartered. In contrast to 25,000 independent unit banks, we may expect a banking system similar to that of England or Canada. In England there are twelve banks with some 8,000 branches and in Canada there are eleven banks with 4,000 branches. Adoption of Controller Pole's recommendation means the ultimate extinction of the unit banks and the substitution for them of branch banks managed and capitalized by strong central banks.

#### JAPAN

On Jan. 11 the gold embargo, which had been operative for twelve years, was removed by Imperial ordinance. This marks an important event in the post-war economic history and means that Japan has again been placed on a gold standard after being on a paper standard since 1917. Loans and investments from foreign countries had counterbalanced the unfavorable trade balances for several years before the World War and maintained Japan on a gold basis. During the four years of the war, commencing 1915, the trade balance turned in favor of Japan by 1,408,000,000 yen. When Great Britain in 1917 placed an embargo on gold, Japan did likewise without unfavorable effects on its foreign trade. In 1919, for the first time in four years, the balance of trade turned against Japan, Japanese imports having risen during

the war from 532,450,000 yen in 1915 to 1,035,811,000 yen in 1917. From 1919 to 1928 imports have exceeded exports by 3,236,000,000 yen.

Japan's finance ministers have resisted the pressure exerted from time to time by merchants, especially silk exporters, to place Japan back on a gold basis. Because of this hesitancy the foreign gold holdings were dissipated to make up for the annual unfavorable trade balances. In 1920, a few months after the United States resumed the gold standard, Japanese gold holdings were 2,178,000,000 yen, of which 1,062,000,000 yen, or almost half, were held abroad. By October, 1929, these foreign holdings had dwindled to 91,000,000 yen. The amount of gold held at home by the Bank of Japan was 1,116,000,000 yen in 1920; it rose to 1,125,000,000 yen the next year and then, in spite of the embargo, melted away to 1,062,000,000 yen in October, 1929.

The first effect of lifting the embargo will be a further drain of gold in order to bring the yen up to par (49.85 cents). The yen first left par in 1921, depreciated to 38.5 cents in December, 1924; recovered slowly to 49 cents in March, 1927; slumped to 46 cents in 1928, and in 1929 went as low as 43 cents, but has again risen to 49.12 cents on Jan. 3, 1930. The rise is due to a policy of retrenchment in expenditure, decreasing imports and a rising export. Those who now hold yen as a speculation will promptly convert them into gold, but it is entirely probable that prices of export commodities will rise with a stronger yen and ease on the gold drain. It is unfortunate that the recent collapse in silk prices should have coincided with the time chosen to bring Japan back to a gold standard. Spot prices for raw silk were about \$5.25 a pound for the greater part of 1929, but fell to \$4.65 during the latter part of December.

#### ARGENTINA

Weakness of South American exchanges, already noted in the case of Brazil because of the virtual collapse of the coffee stabilization scheme, again

became acute when President Irigoyen by government decree closed the Argentine Caja de Conversion (gold exchange office) on Dec. 17. The action removes Argentina from the gold standard and places an embargo on the export of gold. The Argentine paper dollar, already weak because of the continued unfavorable trade balance and the drain of gold, has dropped from 41.53 cents to 40.50 cents (par 42.44 cents), and all Argentine securities have dropped on the New York market, bonds of the city of Buenos Aires 6s of 1961 falling  $6\frac{1}{2}$  points to 83 $\frac{3}{8}$ .

Because of a poor crop (the estimated wheat crop is 150,000,000 bushels, compared with 307,000,000 bushels last year) the trade balance has been unfavorable during the year and gold stock has been reduced from \$607,000,000 on Dec. 31, 1928, to \$496,000,000 on Sept. 30, 1929, the last official figure available, a loss of \$111,000,000, of which \$72,000,000 came from New York. Argentine currency law requires the withdrawal from circulation and the delivery to the conversion office of 2.27 paper pesos every time one gold peso is withdrawn for export. In consequence of continued gold exports the currency in circulation has shrunk; it is now 112.45 paper pesos per inhabitant, as compared with 127.72 last year, and 156.68 in 1920.

The situation was eased somewhat when on Dec. 24 it was announced that a loan had been arranged between the Argentine Government and London bankers for £5,000,000 at 5 $\frac{3}{4}$  per cent interest with additional commissions of  $\frac{1}{2}$  of 1 per cent, the loan being repayable in gold on Dec. 31, 1930. London financial interests have been watching with disapproval the increasing sale of American products in the Argentine, while the United Kingdom has been Argentina's chief customer. Viscount D'Aberdeen calls attention to this phase by saying that Anglo-Argentine relations are marked by "the outstanding position of England as a purchaser of Argentine produce and the large amount of English capital invested in

Argentina." The London *Economist* does not mince words and in discussing the credits arranged by the recent British economic mission to South America it says: "A factor in the situation which the Argentine may legitimately be invited to bear in mind is that the increases in her purchases of American goods in recent years has brought—largely as a result of the tariff policy of the United States—no corresponding expansion of shipments of Argentine goods to U. S. A., whereas in Great Britain, whose potential capacity to meet Argentine requirements in the way of most manufactures is undoubted, the republic finds a great free trade market for foodstuffs on which her prosperity depends."

#### GREAT BRITAIN

On Dec. 12, three weeks after the discount rate of the Bank of England had been reduced from 6 to 5 $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent and six weeks after it had been 6 $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, the Bank again reduced the rate to 5 per cent. The action came as a surprise to the financial community, as no further reduction had been expected in 1929. Gold holdings of the Bank of England, which were £134,269,000 on Dec. 4, had increased to £137,434,000 on Dec. 11. The changed financial situation in New York was drawing gold from the United States and there was every prospect that France would cease to draw on London. Hence the world situation had ceased to be a menace to London gold, and the Bank promptly anticipated additional siphoning of gold by lowering the rate to 5 per cent. That the Bank correctly appraised the situation is shown by the fact that between Dec. 12, when the rate was lowered, and Dec. 31 the Bank's bullion increased £8,681,000 and stood at £146,115,000. The progressive reduction of the rate within six weeks will further stimulate British business activity. Unemployment had been decreasing, according to the November report of the British Labor Ministry, published in the *Ministry of Labour Gazette*.

# To and From Our Readers

## DEATH OF PROFESSOR EDWARD RAYMOND TURNER

WE regretfully announce the death of Edward Raymond Turner, Professor of European History at Johns Hopkins University and a member of the Board of Current History Associates, which occurred at Baltimore on Dec. 31, 1929. Professor Turner was taken ill with pneumonia and died within three days. He was born at Baltimore on May 28, 1881, and graduated from St. John's College, Annapolis, in 1904, obtaining his doctorate from Johns Hopkins in 1910. After teaching history at Bryn Mawr, he was Professor of European History at the University of Michigan (1911-1924) and Professor of English History at Yale (1924-1925) before going to Johns Hopkins in 1925. He was author of a number of historical works, some of which are widely in use as textbooks. Professor Turner joined the Board of Current History Associates in 1928 to contribute the monthly account of events in France and Belgium. His high intellectual ability and his wide scholarship in his special field ranked him among the leading American historians of today and make his premature death all the more deplorable.

Professor Othon G. Guerlac has been appointed to the Board to succeed Professor

Turner. Professor Guerlac is Professor of Romance Languages and Literature at Cornell University and is a distinguished scholar. He temporarily filled the same post on the Board some years ago and withdrew on account of a prolonged visit to France.

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## CANADA'S LOYALTY TO THE KING

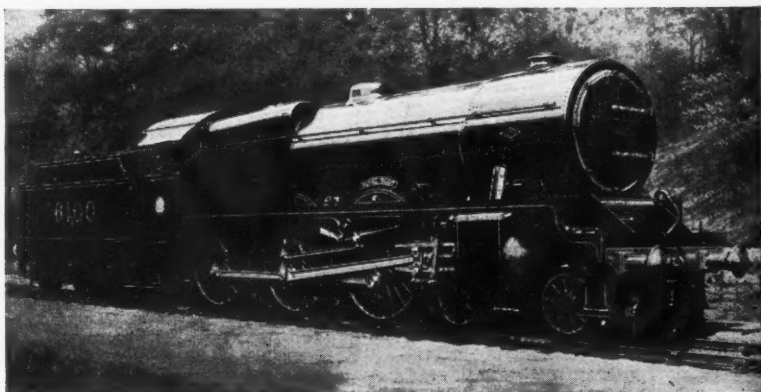
To the Editor of Current History:

The article, "Canada's Loyalty to the King," by Professor Milledge Bonham in the November CURRENT HISTORY is most misleading. As a Canadian I wish to point out briefly Mr. Bonham's major errors in fact as well as in assumption.

Canadians are not "thorough Americans," unless by this Mr. Bonham means that they are a part of a distinct North American civilization. Nor is the Canadian averse to being called a British subject (though he may be sensitive if referred to as "English"). Canadians are quite proud of their British connection, and they willingly admit of the appellation "subject," since they know that it is a name only.

So far as the constitutional continuity of the Throne is concerned, it is very doubtful if the average Canadian gives it a moment's thought. Mr. Bonham flatters our national intelligence.

Mr. Bonham's chief faults are, however,



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in his theories. He endeavors to solve the "British point of view," something which Britishers themselves wisely leave unsolved. In his efforts to explain in the light of reason something which is highly unreasonable, Mr. Bonham falls a prey to psychological speculation. "God Save the King" and all the other Britishisms are part of Canadian life and need no explaining. They serve as a safety valve for national enthusiasm. Any explanation would doubtless reduce the actions to an absurdity, and no human wants to appear absurd. I really wonder if Mr. Bonham knows the philosophy of Pyrrho, or, if he persists, why not consult some such eminent authority as George Dorsey?

As for the "King of Canada," there "ain't no such animal." To Canadians he is the old British King. The same applies to the flag question. I might recommend that Mr. Bonham read some of the recent issues of *MacLean's Magazine* on this matter.

Finally, in endeavoring to the last to be the true historian, Mr. Bonham brings in history to prove his points. His generalizations about the Loyalists are unfounded, and had he looked about closely into Canadian history about 1812 (e. g., Brock's recruiting methods), he might have saved himself a misapprehension about the war of that period as productive of loyalty.

Near the close of his article Mr. Bonham states that "it is probably impossible for an alien to apprehend completely the Canadian feeling for the Crown." Herein at least he is correct. Had he but stopped to ponder over this truism he might have precluded the necessity of his pointless peroration. After all, the successful writer is the one who knows what to omit. But he still has the problem of why the highways of Ontario are to be called King's Highways. Queer people, these Canadians.

JOHN HALL STEWART.

Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.

#### DRUNKENNESS IN FRANCE

To the Editor of *Current History*:

In *CURRENT HISTORY* for April, 1928, I gave some statistics for drunkenness in Paris and other cities, in Europe and America. The statistics as to Paris are challenged in such a way as to call for an explanation. The statistics as to Paris that I gave were furnished to the New York office of the World League Against Alcoholism, by the Prefect of Police of Paris over his own signature. Since the publication of these statistics, replying to Dr. R. Hercof of Lausanne, Switzerland, this same Prefect of Police has given statistics running less than one-third of the number that was given to our New York office. Now comes Mr. Herman Landon, Broadway Hotel, New York City, who states that he has just received a letter from the Prefect of Police of Paris, stating that "the police of France have never made



any arrests for drunkenness." The last volume of *Annuaire de Statistique*, published by the French Government, gives the following statistics: Arrests for drunkenness in France in 1923, 59,585, and in 1924, 57,593; arrests for drunkenness in Paris in 1923, 11,558; suicides in France in 1924, 8,892, of which 1,048 were on account of alcoholism. On Dec. 31, 1924, there were 75,580 inmates of the lunatic asylums of France, of which 7,413 were there on account of liquor.

W. E. JOHNSON.

Smithville Flats, N. Y.

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### THE CHINESE "THREE PEOPLE'S PRINCIPLES."

To the Editor of Current History:

It is incorrect to say that the "Three People's Principles" of Dr. Sun Yat-sen are "nationalism, anti-imperialism and social democracy." The three principles, known in Chinese as *San Min Chu I*, because all three of them begin with the word "people," ought to be translated as the principles of "nationalism, democracy and livelihood." These are the words used by Frank W. Price, the translator of the lectures of Dr. Sun, and they are the nearest approximations to the original meaning. The term "racial democracy" has, however, been suggested as a substitute for the term "nationalism." The term "social democracy" has also been proposed to name the principle of "livelihood." But the idea of "anti-imperialism" never appeared in the writings of Dr. Sun. There is in the will of the leader a statement to the effect that as a necessary condition for the immediate realization of the principles, the unequal treaties formerly entered into by the Chinese Government and other powers should be abolished or abrogated as soon as possible. They stand in the way of Chinese national development and are obviously contrary to the principle of nationalism, for among other things that principle openly declares equality among races and regards the subjection of one race under another as incompatible with that principle. The second principle of Dr. Sun is that of democracy, and, with a few innovations, it is substantially the same as the Western notion of the term.

CHIH MAI CHEN.

Columbus, Ohio.

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### SOVIET INDUSTRIALIZATION PROGRAM

To the Editor of Current History:

In Professor Furniss's article in the January issue of CURRENT HISTORY, entitled "Initial Success of Soviet Industrialization Program," the final sentences read as follows: "Furthermore, the credit of the government has been strained by the issue of internal loans averaging more than 200,000,000 rubles a month. The budget



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of the fiscal year just closed listed almost a third of the government income under the head of loans. This is a condition of government finance, seldom encountered except during a period of war, whose usual consequence is a breakdown of public credit." The statement on which this conclusion is based does not correspond with facts. The report of the Commissariat for Finance as to the fulfillment of the federal budget for 1928-29, which appeared in *Finance and National Economy* of Nov. 24, states that of the total revenue of 8,112,398,000 rubles, revenues from loans constituted 703,151,000 rubles. The receipts from internal loans during the year averaged only less than 60,000,000 rubles a month (in comparison with the figure 200,000,000 rubles given in the article

quoted) and amounted to but 8.7 per cent of the total federal revenues for the past fiscal year (as against the figure one-third shown in Professor Furniss's article). The foregoing figures differ so much from those presented in the article that they, in my opinion, completely invalidate Professor Furniss's conclusions.

Incidentally, I might add that the debt service (for redemption and interest) was estimated for 1928-29 at 293,000,000 rubles.

M. MENDELSON.

Information Department,  
Amtorg Trading Corp.

New York.

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### STAMBULISKY'S RECORD IN BULGARIA

To the Editor of *Current History*:

In Theodore Geshkoff's article "Bulgaria's Stormy History Since the World War," in October *CURRENT HISTORY*, there are certain misstatements of fact which should not be allowed to pass uncorrected.

He says that since June 9, 1923, "Bulgaria has been governed by a veiled military dictatorship." This statement Mr. Geshkoff himself controverts when he says that the Peasant party now has forty-eight seats in the National Assembly and that in spite of the opposition of Colonel Gheorgieff the loan protocol of the Financial Committee of the League of Nations was passed through the National Assembly. From what one knows of existing dictatorships in Europe one is astonished at the fact that the alleged dictatorship in Bulgaria allows forty-eight Agrarian Deputies in the National Assembly. One's astonishment becomes greater when the Military League, "which," in the words of Mr. Geshkoff, "has been the real Bulgarian Government ever since the *coup d'etat* of 1923," was powerless to impose its will concerning the loan.

Mr. Geshkoff attributes solely to Stambulisky "the vigorous opposition to Bulgaria's entry into the World War on the side of Germany," and holds the old-time political parties responsible for it. All the parties, excepting that of Radoslavoff then in power, were against it.

The statements regarding the treatment of ex-Ministers show that Stambulisky wished to destroy his political rivals and not to mete out justice to them. Almost all the twenty-two ex-Ministers were men who were opposed to Bulgaria's entry into the World War on the side of Germany, and were in no way responsible for the consequences of that entry.

Speaking of the great services rendered to Bulgaria by Stambulisky's administration, Mr. Geshkoff mentions the enactment of the labor law, but official statistics have shown that during his tenure of office the law, owing to mismanagement and malversations, showed a rising deficit of 61,900,000 leva during 1922-1923.

The statement that Stambulisky "prac-

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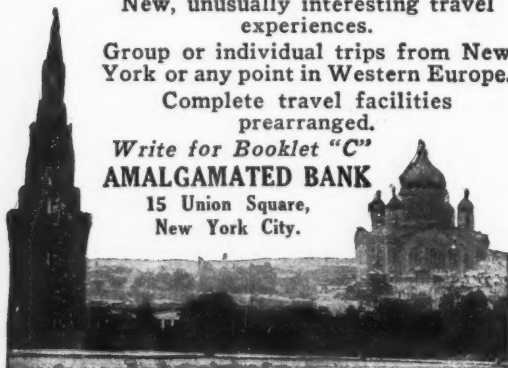
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tically reduced the Bulgarian reparations from 2,250,000,000 to 550,000,000 gold francs" is misleading. What was really done was that the whole treaty debt of 2,250,000,000 gold francs was divided into two parts. The first part was fixed at 550,000,000 gold francs, of which payment of capital and interest at 5 per cent was to be spread over a period of sixty years; while 1,700,000,000 gold francs, the balance of the treaty debt, was to stand over free of all claims, either for capital or interest, for a period of thirty years.

Stambulisky left the Bulgarian finances completely disorganized, with a budget resulting in increasing deficits. It is to the merit of his successors to have brought order in that domain, by a series of reforms and an energetic fiscal policy. Since 1925 the financial situation in Bulgaria has been steadily improving. The last year for the first time since the war the budget was balanced.

The assertion that ex-Premier Tsankoff "had passed through a number of political schools: Anarchist, Communist, Socialist, Agrarian and, at last, Fascist," is false. A man of his social standing could not have been such a turncoat as he is represented to have been.

The régime of Stambulisky was one of the most unscrupulous and dictatorial that has ever obtained in Bulgaria. He was unrelenting in his persecution of the bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia of the country; he kept up through his papers a constant incitement of the peasants against the urban population, in a thoroughly democratic country like Bulgaria, where class distinctions were unknown. How far his unscrupulousness and malignancy extended is best shown by the fact that he used to contribute regularly to the *Agrarian Standard*, the organ of his party, articles signed by his own name, as Prime Minister, in which he openly preached a class war between peasants and bourgeois.

CARLYLE S. BAER,  
Attorney at Law.

Washington, D. C.

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#### THE STUDY OF MODERN HISTORY To the Editor of *Current History*:

I have been experimenting with the use of *CURRENT HISTORY* and a few other magazines, in the study of current events in my classes in modern European history. In most respects I find *CURRENT HISTORY* the most satisfactory. By the completeness with which it covers world topics, the direct and factual manner of presentation, the reliability of its information, the fact that it is a chronicler and the selection of the pictures in its rotogravure section, *CURRENT HISTORY* supplies the type of material best suited to a study of current topics as part of a course in modern history.

A. Y. KING.

John Adams High School, Cleveland.

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*Charles J. Warner*